The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond

Volume Two
The Morisco Issue

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SERIES INTRODUCTION: CONVERSO AND MORISCO STUDIES

Kevin Ingram

It is generally accepted that in the three decades following the 1391 pogrom against Spain's Jewish *aljamas* (neighborhoods), a third or more of Spanish Jews converted to Christianity. This mass conversion was repeated in 1492, when Spain's much reduced Jewish community was given the option of Christian baptism or expulsion. In this same year the Islamic Kingdom of Granada fell to the Christian forces and its Muslim inhabitants were soon presented with the same ultimatum: convert or leave the peninsula.

For the most part medieval Christian Spain viewed the expulsion or conversion of the two minority religions as a victory of the true faith over infidels, and this sense of triumph was nurtured during the next four centuries by clerical and secular authorities, who promoted the view that Spain was a morally and physically purer nation as a result of the 1492 catharsis. There were, of course, dissenting voices, like for example Charles IV's secretary of finance, Pedro Varela, who in 1797 recommended the return to Spain of the Jews, arguing that their business and intellectual skills would have beneficial effects on the Spanish economy; and Jose Amador de los Rios, whose *Judios de España* (published in 1876) attempted to reconcile his fellow countrymen to Spain's rich and influential Sephardic past. However, the prevailing view was that the Jewish and Islamic cultures had debased the peninsula and that Spain was a better place for their absence. As for the converts from Islam and Judaism, the Conversos and Moriscos,[1] the belief was that these formed small, insignificant minorities who had made little lasting impression on Spanish society: the Moriscos, those furtive, intransigent followers of Muhammad, had been ejected from Spanish soil in 1609 for their sins against Church and patria; while the Conversos, after posing some initial problems as secret heretics and impudent social climbers, had been stifled (through the *limpieza de sangre* laws and

[1] The word *converso* is Spanish for convert. It is also used to describe Jewish converts to Christianity and their descendents. It will be written as "Converso" (with a capital C) throughout this compilation. The term *morisco*, meaning Islamic convert to Christianity, will be written "Morisco."

Inquisition prosecutions) and ingested, without a trace, into mainstream (Old Christian) society.

This historiographical interpretation was not seriously challenged until 1948, when Américo Castro published *España en su historia*, in which the historian and philologist accorded to the Jews and Conversos a central position in Spain's medieval and early modern intellectual environment. Castro's views were soon attacked by members of the Francoist academy, who preferred, for ideological reasons, to regard modern Spain as a pure Hispano-Catholic phenomenon. When other studies were published supporting many of Castro's claims, they were either dismissed as *Castrista* (a derogatory term meaning sensationalist or perverse) or, when it became impossible to refute them, flagrantly ignored. Thus, in the wake of Castro's study, an academic cold war developed between two rival schools. One school, comprised of émigré scholars, home-based academics on the margins of the Francoist academy and some foreign (mostly American) Hispanists, spoke of a Golden Age in which the Conversos and Moriscos were culturally significant; its antagonist, a Catholic-conservative group, made up of Francoist academics and a small but significant group of like-minded foreign scholars, emphasised an homogeneous Old Christian Golden-Age culture in which the Conversos and the Moriscos figured as little more than inquisitorial anecdotes.

This conflict was to begin with a very low-key affair. In the fifties and sixties Spanish history was still something of an academic backwater, generating little scholarship outside the peninsula; even Spain's Golden Age was approached mostly through subjects (American colonialism, Counter-Reformation, Price Revolution . . .) that were viewed to have important implications for the more historically attractive environments north of the Pyrenees. Indeed, it was largely as a result of this international academic indifference to Spain's Golden Age that old historiographical prejudices remained active for so long. Fortunately this situation began to change, albeit slowly, in the post-Franco era, promoted by a more liberal Spanish academic environment as well as by an increased interest in sociocultural themes.

Today Spain's multicultural Middle Ages attracts an enormous amount of scholarly attention, engendering studies that continue to shed light not only on the Conversos and Moriscos but also on the related issues of individual and group identity, community violence, everyday resistance, passing and Otherness, as the essays in this series will attest. However, before turning to these studies, I think it appropriate to briefly situate the two groups within their historical context, beginning with the Conversos, who have, at least up until quite recently, generated most interest.

The Conversos

As I have already stated, the Converso phenomenon begins in 1391, when, throughout the peninsula, Christian communities rose up against the Jewish *aljamas*, forcing large numbers of Jews (how many is uncertain) to convert to Christianity. Naturally, few of these early converts sincerely embraced the Catholic Church or Christian society; indeed, most congregated in Converso neighborhoods, where the Sephardic culture continued to exert a strong influence on their lives. For its part, Christian, or rather Old Christian, Spain, did nothing to entice Conversos to the fold. Old Christians remained antagonistic towards the new converts, whom they regarded (with some justification) as lukewarm Catholics, and this antagonism grew throughout the fifteenth century as a Converso middle sort, free from the social and commercial restrictions applied to the Jews, became increasingly prominent in business and professional activities.

Those Jews who converted to Christianity in the wake of the 1391 pogrom found themselves in an advantageous position vis-à-vis both the Jewish and Old Christian communities. As New Christians they were no longer subject to the restrictions that had hampered Jewish merchants and professionals. As literate men (all Jewish males were required to gain a basic level of literacy in order to read the Torah), often with a sound knowledge of trade and finance, and with important contacts in Jewish financial and mercantile circles, they were able to compete at an advantage with an Old Christian urban community. A number of these new converts accumulated large fortunes, which they used to advance their social positions within their cities. One method of social advancement was through the purchase of administrative offices within the church and local government; another method was to form marriage alliances with that other *arriviste* group, Castile's new nobility—families like the Ayala, Mendoza and Manrique, who, through wise political maneuvering, had risen rapidly to the top of Spain's fifteenth-century social hierarchy.

The Conversos' increasing commercial and social prominence in Castile's urban centers inevitably led to clashes with the Old Christian community. One of the most dramatic confrontations occurred in Toledo in 1449, where a Converso agent of the crown, Rodrigo de Cota, was made responsible for collecting an extraordinary tax levied to aid Juan II prosecute his war against a French incursion into Navarre. Predisposed to see this tax as an example of Converso avarice and malice, the Old Christian community turned on its New Christian neighbors, looting and burning their neighborhoods. Ordered to put a stop to the violence, the *alcalde mayor*, Pedro Sarmiento, merely used his power to inflame anti-Converso

feeling even further, and to introduce a statute, the *sentencia-estatuto*, prohibiting Conversos from occupying public office—that is to say from comporting themselves as nobles.

The Toledo statute (now recognized as the first *limpieza de sangre*, or pure blood, law) was soon followed by other similar legislation, preventing Conversos from entering city councils, cathedral chapters, universities and noble and religious orders on the grounds that they were of Jewish provenance and thus second class Christians. At the same time agitation grew for an inquisitorial body to investigate a Converso community suspected of being insincere neophytes. In 1480 the first tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition was established in Seville. Others followed in rapid succession, their task to root out Judaism from the New Christian community.[2]

[2] One of the subjects most debated in Converso studies is the Catholic Monarchs' reasons for establishing their own Inquisitorial body (as opposed to utilizing the papal Inquisition council that had existed since the thirteenth century). Was the institution created to root out Judaizing or for other, more devious, reasons? Benzion Netanyahu, for example, believes that there were very few Crypto-Jews within the Converso community by the middle of the fifteenth century and that the Judaizing problem was used as a pretext to attack the Conversos as a whole, reducing their economic and political status. However, this argument is sustained only by ignoring or rejecting important documentation, not least of which are the fifteenth-century chronicles by both the Conversos' detractors and their sympathisers. It is instructive to note that while the Converso writers Alonso de Palencia, Fernando de Pulgar and Juan Ramirez de Lucena berated the Inquisition for its inhumanity towards the New Christians, all three men recognized that Judaizing was prevalent in the Converso community, especially in Andalucia, where, Palencia noted, "the belief in the coming of the fallacious Messiah was widely extended among the Conversos." Fernando de Pulgar also indicated that Judaizing was widespread in the south of Spain, when, in attacking Inquisition brutality and rapine, he wrote, "as the Old [Christians] are here [in Seville] such bad Christians, the New [Christians] are such good Jews . . . I believe that there are ten thousand girls who, because from birth they never leave their homes, neither hear nor know any other doctrine, but follow that [Judaism] which they observe their parents practicing indoors." There is no reason to believe that these chroniclers' views on Converso Judaizing were not shared by the Catholic Monarchs and that the royal couple saw the Holy Office as a means of eradicating an important religious problem. This is not to say, of course, that this was the only reason for the creation of a Spanish Inquisition. The Crown was also aware that Old Christian antagonism towards the tightly knit Converso urban communities could, and did, lead to violent confrontations. Having gained power after a four year civil war, Ferdinand and Isabella were naturally sensitive to the issue of civil discord and saw in the Inquisition a means of institutionalizing and controlling an urban problem that was always in danger of escalating into disruptive civil uprisings. The measure undoubtedly created enormous distress within the Converso communities, attacked by rapacious and corrupt Inquisition officials. However, we should not jump too readily to the conclusion that this was the Catholic Monarchs' underlying intention in creating the Inquisition council.

A major obstacle in attacking this problem, or so it was believed, was the continuing presence of a large Jewish community in the peninsula, eager to entice the *anusim* (forced ones) back to the fold. And so in 1492 the Jews were ordered to convert to Christianity or leave Spain (Castile and Aragon) with whatever belongings they could carry. Some seventy or eighty thousand chose to leave; perhaps an equal number converted to Christianity. These unhappy converts now joined an older body of New Christians assailed by *limpieza de sangre* proscriptions and Holy Office persecution.

In the first forty years of Holy Office activity, it is reckoned that some three thousand Conversos were sent to the stake, accused of practicing the Jewish faith. Many thousands more were subjected to lengthy prison sentences and dispossessed of their property. However, after 1520 the rate of prosecutions declined quite considerably and this has led a number of historians to posit the view that the New Christian community had to a large degree been assimilated into the majority religion and culture by the mid sixteenth century. This view requires some qualification. For one reason or another, accusations of Judaizing declined after 1520, but this does not necessarily infer that the Conversos had become loyal subjects or good Catholics. It is noteworthy that all the major movements for reform in early modern Spain were either driven by Conversos or heavily supported by them. The *alumbrado*, or illuminist movement, which erupted in central Castile in the second decade of the century, was almost totally composed of Conversos, who rejected Catholic dogma for mystical and quietist religious practice. The Comunero revolt of 1521, an attack on a Crown that accrued political power at the expense of its nobility and urban patrician class, attracted a disproportionate number of Converso artisans and merchants to its ranks. Above all, Spain's Erasmian movement, which entered the peninsula with Charles I's Flemish court in 1521, was dominated by Converso professionals, both at court and in the universities, especially at the recently founded Complutense University, at Alcalá de Henares.

In assuming an Erasmian humanist mantle, Converso scholars were able to attack Catholic practice with a certain amount of impunity, at least at first, when the Flemish humanist enjoyed the support of powerful secular and clerical figures at court, including the Inquisitor General Alfonso Manrique. However, the Erasmists situation deteriorated abruptly in the 1530s as the Spanish monarch, now Emperor Charles V, became increasingly sensitive to the political dangers of a vociferous religious reform movement. With the Inquisition once more on the attack, the

predominantly Converso Erasmian movement went underground, voicing its disquiet between the lines of humanist essays or through creative fictions, especially the picaresque novel, a particularly Converso genre.[3]

Outside the Converso humanist elite, it is difficult to determine the character of Spain's Conversos in the sixteenth century. The view that the New Christians were divided into three groups, those who Judaized, those who were sincere Christians, and those who were neither (the apathetic, skeptical and atheistic) is often put forward by historians taxed with presenting a simple answer to the vexed question of Converso identity.[4] However, this is a singularly misleading taxonomy, because it implies an equal and rigid division that never existed. We have no idea what proportion of Conversos considered themselves Jewish, Christian or skeptics. We do know, however, that traumatized Conversos might make a number of religious border crossings as they searched for spiritual deliverance and/

[3] When I say Converso genre, I do not mean merely that at its forefront were Converso writers, as this would hardly distinguish it from any other branch of Spanish Golden-Age literature (see note 11). What I mean is that Picaresque fiction revolves around Converso, or barely disguised Converso, anti-heroes. The multiple misadventures of these marginal figures gave their creators an opportunity to paint a bleak picture of contemporary Spanish society, cynically attacking social mores and debunking Old Christian pretensions to noble, honourable character. The works are laden with inter-textual messages, aimed at what Mateo Alemán described as the "discreet reader," many of them allusions to the protagonists' Converso roots. While we have little biographical information on most of these authors (for obvious reasons), the information we do have usually points strongly to Converso backgrounds. It is particularly noteworthy that many of the authors were from medical backgrounds, as medical practice was virtually a Converso monopoly in early modern Spain. Mateo Alemán, author of Guzmán de Alfarache was from a well known Seville medical clan suspected of being Converso. Francisco López de Úbeda, author of *La pícara Justina*, was also a physician (from Toledo), as were Jerónimo de Alcalá Yáñez (*El donado hablador*) and Carlos García (*La desordenada codicia de los bienes ajenos*). García, from Zaragoza, moved to Paris early in his career, where he entered the circle of the Converso Elias de Montach, physician to Maria de Medici. Antonio Enríquez Gómez, author of *La vida de Gregorio Guadaña*, was not a physician; he was, however, a crypto-Jew who fled Spain for Amsterdam in 1636. The author of *Lazarillo de Tormes* (a work regarded as the first example of the picaresque genre) remains anonymous, although the text itself suggests that the author was a Converso with strong Erasmian sympathies. Recently Rosa Navarro has compared the text with the *Diálogo de Mercurio y Carón* and *Diálogo de las cosas acaecidas en Roma* to make an argument for the Converso humanist Alfonso de Valdés as the author of the work. See Rosa Navarro Durán, *Alfonso Valdés, autor del Lazarillo de Tormes*, Madrid, 2004.

[4] This is the view of José Faur, *In the Shadow of History: Jews and Conversos at the Dawn of Modernity*, New York, 1992, ch. 3. Stephen Haliczer divides the Conversos into three broad groups, omitting the religiously apathetic group from his typology (Stephen Haliczer, *Inquisition and Society in the Kingdom of Valencia, 1478 to 1834*, Berkeley, 1990, p. 212.).

or social acceptability.[5] As for the term "sincere Christians," this suggests a religious compliance that was far from the case. While many Conversos undoubtedly regarded themselves as Christian (by the sixteenth century, the majority), their brand of Christianity (hybrid, mystical, militant) was often a calculated affront to the Catholic Church, an act of subversion rather than conformism. Finally, the division implies a disjuncture within Converso communities that was, in fact, not so readily apparent. As the Inquisition records attest, those who Judaized, those who considered themselves sincere Christians, and those who were sceptics all interrelated in the same Converso neighborhoods and, frequently, in the same Converso extended and nuclear families.[6] Clearly, social and cultural ties were often much more important factors in deciding a Converso's sense of self than religious ones.

The diversity of the Conversos' responses to their peculiar sociocultural situation would seem to militate against categorizing them as a discrete group. Nevertheless, I believe the Conversos do share an important commonality: a feeling of resentment against an oppressive Old Christian moral majority. This resentment is rarely overtly expressed; rather, it takes a number of subtle forms, from the loaded subtext of picaresque novels to acts of everyday resistance.[7] The majority of sixteenth-century Spanish Conversos may not have been Judaizers, but it would be unwise to take for granted their assimilation or conformism. Certainly, there are grounds for arguing that many Conversos considered themselves both different from and superior to their Old Christian neighbors, and that they believed this higher status was conveyed upon them by their Jewish background. They were, after all, the heirs of Gods chosen people, who were authentic monotheists, not idol worshipers like their pagan (Gentile) counterparts.[8]

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[5] See, for example, Richard L. Kagan and Abigail Dyer eds., *Inquisitorial Inquiries: Brief Lives of Secret Jews and Other Heretics*, Baltimore, 2004.

[6] The many different ideologies at play in Converso extended families is clearly presented by Pilar Huerga Criado, *En la raya de Portugal: Solidaridad y tensiones en la comunidad judeoconversa*, Salamanca, 1994, pp. 277–282.

[7] See Leonor Zozaya Montes, "A Thorn in the Community: Popular Religious Practice and Converso Dissidence in the District of Molina de Aragòn," in Kevin Ingram ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. 1, Leiden, 2009, pp. 161–186.

[8] This point was made by the Converso writers Alonso de Cartagena (*Defensorium unitatis christianae*) and Diego de Valera (*Espejo de verdadera nobleza*), both writing in response to the 1449 *sentencia estatatu*. For Cartagena, Christianity was a redirection and a deepening of the Jewish faith: the Old Law had merely evolved into a more ideal form.

So far I have spoken only of the Converso phenomenon in Spain. In Portugal, the situation was somewhat different. It was here that the majority of Spain's Jews took up residence after the 1492 expulsion order, more than doubling the size of Portugal's own Sephardic community. At first the native Jewish community and the immigrants were allowed to practice their religion in peace. However, in 1497, under pressure from Spain's Catholic Monarchs, King Manuel of Portugal forcibly converted his Jewish subjects. It was a move he was reluctant to make, valuing, much more so than his Spanish counterparts, the Jews' economic potential. Thus, as an incentive to the neophytes to remain in his realm, he decreed a twenty year moratorium on investigations into their religious activities. It was during this period that many Converso traders became enormously wealthy through the booming spice and slave trades and used their wealth to maintain a powerful Converso lobby in the Vatican. Through this lobby the Portuguese Conversos were able to resist the establishment of an Inquisition council until 1534 and stifle its activities for yet another fourteen years thereafter.

It was thus not until the mid sixteenth century, over fifty years after the Spanish expulsion, that the Portuguese Converso community began to experience serious problems with the Holy Office. As a response to this increased vigilance, many Converso families opted to immigrate back to Spain, where they hoped to escape Inquisition attention. Unfortunately, their escape coincided with an increase in Spanish Inquisition activity, promoted by a Counter-Reformation monarchy ever more obsessed with socio-religious deviance. Suspected of crypto-Jewish activity, the Portuguese immigrants naturally attracted a great deal of Inquisition attention, as a result of which convictions for Judaizing escalated. Not all of those

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Jews who embraced Christianity were embracing an evangelical spirit that had been present in their faith, in men like Moses and Aaron. The Gentiles did not have this foundation; none of their writings made reference to the coming of the Christ or to the Trinity. They were sons who after a long absence returned home; the Jews (for which read Conversos), were daughters who had never left the paternal house. In his *Espejo*, Diego de Valera writes: "If we are looking for authorities for Jewish nobility, we can find many, for it is written in the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy in speaking of the Jews: 'What other nation is as noble? As it says, not one.' " The Converso preacher Juan de Avila (later Saint Juan de Avila) echoed these thoughts on the Jews' superior status in his work *Audi filia*, written while he languished in the Seville Inquisition prison, accused on being an *alumbrado*. In this work Avila reminds his readers that Jesus preached only to the Jews. Later Christ's apostles took his message further afield, "and now the preaching of Christ's name is growing every day in distant lands, so that he is not only light for the Jews, who believed in Him, and to whom he was sent, but also to the gentiles, who were in blindness and idolatry far removed from God."

convicted were Portuguese, however. The Holy Office's increased sensitivity to crypto-Judaism led to the exposure of indigenous Jewish cells also, like that of Quintanar de la Orden, where between 1588 and 1592 the Mora family and its close circle were the object of a famous Inquisition inquiry.[9]

While the Spanish crown was well aware that most of the Portuguese Conversos were crypto-Jews, it was disposed, on occasion, to turn a blind eye to this heresy, in return for financial aid. In 1602 Philip III applied to Rome for a bull pardoning the past heresies of 6,000 Portuguese Converso families; in return for this munificence, a consortium of Portuguese businessmen paid the crown the enormous sum of 1,860,000 ducats. Twenty-five years later, Philip IV brokered a deal with a new group of Portuguese businessmen, who were given licence to ply their trade in Spain and its dominions for another enormous sum of money. Many of these men now gravitated towards Madrid, where for two decades or more they dominated court finance. The architect of this deal was the king's *privado* the Count-Duke of Olivares, a particularly fervent enemy of anti-Converso attitudes and legislation.[10] While the Count Duke remained in power, the Portuguese financiers were protected. However, on his fall, in 1642, the Inquisition took the offensive, prosecuting some of the court's wealthiest businessmen as Judaizers and stripping them of their enormous fortunes. Faced with continuous Inquisition attacks, many well-heeled members of the Portuguese business community chose to leave Spain for France and the Netherlands, taking their financial expertise with them.

With Spain's wealthy Converso businessmen in exile, Inquisition prosecutions for Judaizing slowly declined over the next century.[11] This did not mean, however, that the Spanish obsession with the Conversos followed suit. For this obsession was not only with Converso heresy; indeed, that was the least of it. Spain was obsessed with the Conversos' Jewish essence. If this malady were allowed to reign unchecked, it would, it was believed, infect the entire kingdom, impairing everyone's virtue and honour. Even after the Inquisition ledgers ceased to record accusations against

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[9] See, Vincent Parello, "Inquisition and Crypto-Judaism: The 'Complicity' of the Mora Family of Quintanar de la Order," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. I, op. cit. pp. 187–210.

[10] Olivares was himself the great grandson on King Fedinand's Converso secretary Lope Conchillos. Furthermore, his family belonged to the House of Medina Sidonia, a noble Andalucian clan that maintained close links with Seville's Converso patrician merchants.

[11] With the exception of the decade 1720 to 1730 which witnessed a last major wave of prosecution.

Judaizers, even after the *limpieza de sangre* laws became no more than a bureaucratic formality, this fixation with the secret Jew remained.

For the majority of Spaniards, the Jews and the Conversos were the embodiment of alien attitudes and beliefs, the corrupters of Spanish tradition; and so, by some perverse inversion, everything foreign, different or innovative was liable to be labelled Jewish: The Spanish masons, the Spanish Enlightenment, the First and Second Republics were all associated with Jewish malfeasance; so too, in Américo Castro's view, was capitalist enterprise and intellectual inquiry in general. According to Castro, middle class activity was anathematized in Spain precisely because of its association with the Jews and the Conversos, and this rejection had grave consequences for the country's later development. It is an intriguing view, although one that is difficult to validate, much of the relevant evidence being locked up in a nation's psyche, beyond the reach of social scientists' tools of measure. What cannot be denied, however, is that the Jews and Conversos have remained a contentious issue in Spanish culture up to the present day, as the recent academic debate on their historiographical importance attests.[12]

The Moriscos

Sizeable Islamic communities existed in Christian Spain from the second wave of the *Reconquista* (in the thirteenth century) onwards. These communities were encouraged by a Spanish Crown eager to maintain the same infrastructure bequeathed to it by the retreating Islamic forces and to tap into the wealth and expertise of the Islamic society. Significantly, the Crown made no attempt to convert these Muslim denizens, known as *Mudejars*, or change in any way their Islamic lifestyle. To do so would have run the risk of losing a valuable commodity to the Nasrid kingdom of Granada.

However, this policy of toleration towards the Muslims was seriously questioned after 1492, when the Granada stronghold fell to the combined forces of Isabella and Ferdinand. Having now destroyed the final remnants of Islamic rule on the peninsula, under the banner of "Holy Crusade," the Catholic Monarchs (a title bestowed upon the royal couple by the Pope

[12] See Kevin Ingram, "Historiography and the Conversos," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. 1, op. cit, pp. 335–356.

for their crusading activity) could no longer justify their erstwhile relaxed attitude towards their indigenous infidels. Pressure now needed to be exerted on the Spanish Muslims, starting with the population of Granada, to convert to Christianity. But what form was this pressure to take? Was it to be a gradual but persistent process of proselytism and instruction, or was it to be a swift, radical act of enforced baptism? The first option was supported by Granada's civil governor, Íñigo Hurtado de Mendoza, Marquis of Tendilla, and its archbishop, Hernando de Talavera, who saw their task as one of pacification and accommodation. The second option was advocated by Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, who as primate of Castile was in a position to make his hard line opinions felt.

In 1499, the rumour began to circulate in Granada and the surrounding territory that the Cisneros camp had triumphed and that the Catholic Monarchs were about to renege on the 1492 capitulations allowing the Muslims liberty of religious practice. Street fighting now broke out in the *Albaicin*, the Muslim district of the city, and these disturbances soon escalated into pitched battles and open rebellion. By the time this insurrection was defeated, in 1500, the Catholic Monarchs had decided upon a policy of forced conversion, at least for the Muslim population of Castile, which now included Granada; for the time being the Muslims in Ferdinand's own kingdom of Aragon remained free to practice their chosen religion.

Quite why Ferdinand chose to delay implementation of the conversion order in his own territories remains open to debate; however, the fact that many of the Aragonese and Valencian Muslims were the vassals of powerful noble families, certainly played a part in the king's decision. Any act that disturbed or threatened the equilibrium of this lucrative minority would inevitably have incurred the wrath of their noble landlords, and this was something the absentee monarch clearly wished to avoid. In the event, the Aragonese and Valencian Moriscos were not converted until 1525.

Meanwhile the majority of Castilian Muslims took the baptismal waters. In theory they were given the choice of conversion or expulsion; however, the conditions under which they were allowed to leave the peninsula were so onerous that few took the latter option. It is clear that the majority justified their apostasy as an unavoidable necessity, and in this they were supported by their religious leaders, who counselled the converts to observe Islamic practice in secret.

In the circumstances, few of the converts chose to sincerely embrace Christianity, and somewhat surprisingly very little pressure was exerted upon them to do so. Once the Muslims were formally baptized they were

left mostly to their own devices, at least during the first decades of the century, when the Inquisition was busy directing its attention towards the Converso community. Curiously, Castile's Judaizers were numerically far inferior to its crypto-Muslims. However, religion was not the Inquisition's only criterion for attacking neophytes; it was also moved by political and economic considerations, and patrician Converso merchants were a far richer prize than humble Morisco laborers. Thus for a time the Moriscos were let off the hook.

This situation changed, however, in mid century, when the Ottoman Turks began to threaten Spanish hegemony in the Western Mediterranean. As tension mounted, the Spanish Crown turned its attention to its Morisco subjects, who were now perceived as potentially dangerous fifth columnists. Particularly treacherous, or so the Crown believed, were the Granadan Moriscos (located closest to the Islamic regimes of North Africa), who, despite the 1502 conversion order and other legislation banning the use of Arabic language and dress, had made little effort to adopt Christian customs or religion.

In a new bid to acculturate this community, legislation was once again introduced reinforcing the earlier religious and cultural proscriptions. Again the legislation led to an insurrection, the Alpujarras War, which raged for two years and decimated the zone's Morisco communities. At the end of the fighting, in 1570, those Moriscos who survived found themselves either enslaved or forcibly relocated to other communities throughout Andalucía and New Castile. Philip II undoubtedly viewed the break up and transfer of these communities as a necessary first step in their Christianization. But the harsh policy appears only to have steeled the dispossessed group in its resolve to remain Islamic.

And still there remained a hundred thousand Moriscos on the Valencian coast, many of whom were known to be in contact with the Islamic communities of North Africa. Should this community also be relocated? Or was the solution more drastic still: the expulsion of all the Moriscos from Spain? It was in this atmosphere of tension and uncertainty that a number of "ancient" lead books were discovered in the city of Granada, whose contents revealed that among Spain's first-century Christian evangelists were two converted Arabs.

The Lead Books were in fact recent forgeries by local Moriscos, who hoped to enhance their community's prestige by presenting Arabs, a people associated with Islamic iniquity, as founding members of the Spanish Church. The implication was that Moriscos also had the capacity to be good Christians and worthy Spaniards However, it would be rash to con-

sider this appeal for equality as the work of sincere assimilationists. The Lead Books affair was also a secret violation of Christian sacred history; an act of duplicity and defiance, through which we once again glimpse the New Christian's Janus face.[13]

While the consensus of scholarly opinion is that the majority of Moriscos remained crypto-Muslims up until the expulsion order of 1609,[14] the paucity of preserved Islamic literature from sixteenth-century Spain has conditioned us to believe that this community was a modest, unintellectual one. However, the lack of extant literature would appear to say as much about the hazards of literary production and preservation as it does about the intellectual resources of Spain's Moriscos. Recent studies of *aljamiado* literature (Castilian and Catalan writings in Arabic script) reveal a dispersed but active Morisco intellectual community, whose devotional works were often influenced by *devotio moderna* and humanist views. They also introduce us to what appears to have been an extensive cultural resistance movement, anxious to preserve the Isamic faith and customs under extremely difficult conditions.

At the same time that scholars are re-examining *aljamiado* literature, they are also reassessing the "Moorish" novels and ballads. These works (the *Abenceraje* is perhaps the most famous), written in a period directly prior to the 1609 expulsion, present the Muslims not as villains but as noble and chivalrous heroes. Up until recently examined with little attention to its socio-historic context, this genre is now increasingly taken as evidence of a certain sympathy towards the oppressed Morisco within Spanish society.[15] Undoubtedly the matter will receive further attention in the next years, in the wake of the quattrocentennial of the Morisco expulsion.

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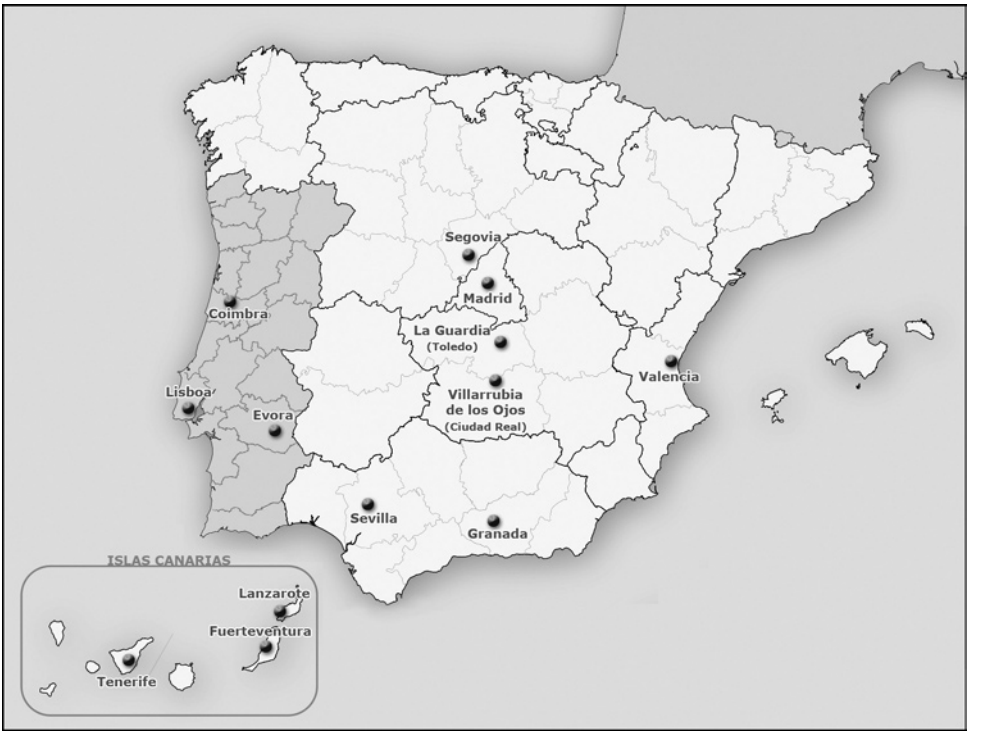
[13] The Lead Books have generated enormous scholarly interest over the last few decades. For a brief examination of the affair, see L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614*, Chicago and London, 2005, chapter eight. See also, Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, "Jerónimo Román Higuera and the Lead Books of Sacromonte, in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol I, op. cit., pp. 243–268.

[14] This assumption should, however, be qualified, and is being qualified in recent scholarly studies. Separated from their religious authorities, compelled to observe Islam clandestinely, it was inevitable that the Moriscos' Islamic practice would undergo important changes in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, the Moriscos' increasing contact with Christian belief introduced them to religious tendencies that began to inform their vision of the Islamic credo, as the *aljamiado* literature attests.

[15] See Barbara Fuchs, "Maurophilia and the Morisco Subject," in *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, vol. I, pp. 269–285; and William Childers, "Manzanares 1600: Moriscos from Granada Organize a Festival of 'Moors and Christians,' " ibid., pp. 289–309.

The Conversos and Morisicos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond

It was in response to the ever growing historiographical debate on the Conversos and Moriscos that I began, in 2004, to organize an annual (now bi-annual) conference, examining Converso and Morisco themes. In staging this event, I had three aims in mind: first, to create an arena in which the Conversos and Moriscos were treated as related rather than separate socio-cultural phenomena; second, to bring together an interdisciplinary group of scholars to discuss Converso and Morisco themes from differing academic perspectives and approaches; and third, to provide a venue for Spanish scholars to exchange views with their non-Spanish counterparts, thus helping to establish much needed formal links between foreign and native Hispanists. These same goals have also guided the *Converso and Moriscos Studies* series, which will offer, periodically, selections of our conference papers, revised and expanded for publication.



Orientation Map
Marketing and Design Department, Saint Louis University, Madrid Campus

INTRODUCTION TO THIS VOLUME

Kevin Ingram

Segovia

As legend would have it, Esther, a Jewess living in Segovia, was much enamored of Christianity, and especially the Virgin Mary. This interest in the gentile's faith offended the elders of the community, who falsely accused the young woman of adultery with a Christian—a crime carrying the death penalty. Tried and convicted, Esther was taken to a cliff top on the edge of the city, from where she was hurled to what her accusers believed was her certain death. However, while plummeting she prayed to the Virgin, who delivered her safely to the ground. In response to this miracle, Esther asked to be baptized and changed her name to María.

The legend of *María del Salto* (Maria of the Leap) was conveyed to script in Alfonso X's famous *Cantigas de Santa María*, a thirteenth century codex of verse and beautifully colored illustrations celebrating the many miracles of the Virgin.[1] It occurred to me that one of the six plates depicting Esther's story would make a fitting frontispiece for the 2008 Segovia Converso and Morisco conference program, and so on a Spring morning, some weeks before the event, I travelled up to Segovia from Madrid to photograph a modern copy of the *Cantigas*, housed in the *Torreon de Lozoya*, a fifteenth century fortified palace now converted into a cultural center.

The *Torreon de Lozoya*, located on the east side of the Plaza San Martín, was built in the fifteenth century by a wealthy wool merchant named Cuéllar, who later sold the building to another merchant, named

[1] The Jews figure as important protagonists in fifteen of the four hundred *Cantigas de Santa María.* These stories mainly repeat the prejudices of medieval Christians towards a growing Jewish community. The stories include tales of infanticide, ritual murder, alliance with the Devil and sacrilegious desecration. Several of the tales, like the one concerning María del Salto, are more temperate, however, presenting the Jews repenting their errors and converting to Christianity as a result of witnessing one of the Virgin's miracles. For an examination of Jewish representation in the *Cantigas*, see Paulino Rodríguez Barral, "La dialectica texto-imagen a proposito de la representación del judio en las *Cantigas de Santa María* de Alfonso X," *Antuario de Estudios Medievales*, 37/1 enero–junio de 2007, pp. 213–243.

Mercader. The surnames and professions of the two men indicate that they were probably Conversos. This was certainly the case of the next owner of the building, Charles V's secretary, Francisco de Eraso, who converted the urban castle and tower into a Renaissance palace.[2] Like Diego Arias Dávila, the Converso accountant of Charles V's great uncle Henry IV, who constructed Segovia's other famous tower, el Torreon de Davila, Eraso was keen to display his newly acquired wealth and status, burying his "base" provenance beneath a pile of noble masonry. Today the building backs on to a restaurant called *Narizotas* (Big Noses). I assume the name is a reference to Segovia's *Juderia*, which lies just a few meters away. The restaurant's specialities, I noted, were *cochinillo* (roasted suckling pig) and *judiones* (butter bean, or large bean, stew).[3]

The director of the Torre de Lozoya center kindly allowed me to move the *Cantigas* volume outside onto the Renaissance terrace, where I took a dozen or so photographs of the *María del Salto* illuminations in the spring sunshine. I then re-crossed the San Martin square to the *Juderia*, where, in the Corpus Christi church (originally the *Sinagoga Mayor*), another image celebrating Christianity's triumph over Judaism awaited me. The image was, in fact, an enormous canvas commemorating a fifteenth century tale of Jewish infamy. According to this legend, related by the Dominican Alonso de Espina, a vitriolic Jew hater, in 1410 the Sacristan of the *San Facundo* church approached two Jews for a loan. The two men agreed to advance the money on condition that the cleric handed over to them a consecrated host. Having gained the prize they then repaired to the synagogue, where they threw it into a cauldron of boiling water. At this point the temple began to tremble and a large crack appeared in one of its walls. The sacrament now rose from the cauldron, flew out of the building

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[2] Juan de Vera, *Torreón de Lozoya*, Segovia, 1991.

[3] *Cochinillo* (roast suckling pig) was introduced into the city's restaurants in the early twentieth century and has now become a "traditional" Segovian dish. The little pigs are displayed whole in the restaurant windows, in what might be interpreted as a symbol of *castizidad* or pure Castilian custom. Is it a coincidence that this tradition began in a period, after the defeat to the U.S. in 1898, when Spanish identity and authenticity was the subject of debate? In early modern Spain, eating pork was a litmus test for authentic Spanish character and the brunt of many jokes in picaresque literature. In a visit to the city at Christmas 2007, I noticed that a Bethlehem scene displayed in a shop window depicted two shepherds roasting a pig outside Jesus' stable. I assumed this was a waggish reference to the city's *cochinillo* tradition; however, it also displays an element of cultural colonialism, the placing of a Spanish-Catholic standard on Jewish territory. *Judiones* is a butter bean casserole. However, the word could also be interpreted as big Jews. The Spanish picaresque tradition is full of such double entrendres. See Sanford Shepard, *Lost Lexicon: Secret Meanings in the Vocabulary of Spanish Literature during the Inquisition*, Miami, 1982.

and floated above Segovia, coming to rest in the Dominican Monastery of Santa Cruz. The Jewish crime was soon uncovered, and the Bishop of Segovia gave the order to convert the synagogue into a Christian temple named, appropriately, Corpus Christi.[4] The host's theft is still commemorated each year by the fourteen parishes that were active in Segovia at the time of the "crime." Each parish takes it in turn to host the annual commemorations, during the first week of September. These end with a solemn procession from the year's designated church to the ex synagogue.

The story of the host's theft and abuse was probably invented sometime between 1417, when it seems the Dominican preacher Vicente Ferrer forcibly seized the synagogue from the Segovian Jewish community, and the mid-fifteenth century, when it was included in Alfonso de Espina's anti-Jewish diatribe, *Fortalitium fidei*. Perhaps the tale was fabricated by Espina himself, borrowing from similar myths that circulated throughout medieval Europe in sermons, miracle plays and visual images.[5] In 1468, or thereabouts, Paolo Uccello painted a desecration legend in six episodes for the altarpiece of the church of the Confraternity of Corpus Domini, in the Italian town of Urbino. This work tells the story of a woman who procured a host for a Jewish pawnbroker in exchange for her pawned clothes. One of these panels depicts the blood of the abused host, flowing out through a crack in the wall of the Jew's house onto the street, alerting the townspeople of Urbino of the treachery. The crack in the wall suggests that this rendition of the desecration and the Alfonso de Espina one had a common source.[6]

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[4] *Fortalitium fidei*, lib III, fols. 172b–173a. For a discussion of the anti-Semitism of the *Fortalitium fidei*, see José María Monsalvo Antón, "Algunas consideraciones sobre el ideario antijudio contenido en el liber III del *Fortalitium fidei* de Alonso de Espina, *Aragón en la Edad Media*, nos. 14–15, 2, (1999), pp. 1061–1088.

[5] The legend of the desecrated host first appears in the thirteenth century. In an early version of the legend, which is set in Paris during Holy Week of 1290, a Jewish pawnbroker returns pawned clothing to a Christian woman in exchange for a host that she procures while at mass. The Jew then boils and stabs the host, without inflicting any physical injury to it. It does, however, begin to bleed, leading the Jew's family, who witness the miracle, to convert to Christianity, while the perpetrator of the crime remains unrepentant. Host desecration stories circulated along with blood libel legends in medieval and early modern Europe. The two most famous of the Spanish blood libel legends are those of Dominguito del Val (1250) and the Niño de La Guardia (1489), both relating the abduction and crucifixion of Christian children by Jews. Both legendary children were beatified, and religious confraternities were founded in their name. Their "martyrdom" is still celebrated in religious processions: Dominguito's on 31 August and El Niño's on 25 September.

[6] For the Paolo Uccello panels, see Dana E. Katz, *The Jew in the Art of the Italian Renaissance*, Philadelphia, 2008, pp. 16–28.

Curiously, the host desecration canvas which hangs in the Corpus Christi church, capturing the moment in which the host rises up from the cauldron to the astonishment of the Jews, was painted not in the fifteenth century but over four hundred years later, in a period when Spain was busy exploring its Middle Ages for clues to its essential spirit or, as Miguel Unamuno put it "intra-historia."[7] The painter Vicente Cutando, who executed the canvas in 1902, was a specialist in romantic religious histories and social dramas.[8]

Over two hundred years separates the legends of *María del Salto* and the Corpus Christi host desecration. In that period the Jews' position in Spain changed radically, as the Church promoted a long and vicious program of proselytization against the Jewish *aljamas*. This offensive, led by the new mendicant orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, fomented an atmosphere of social tension, culminating in the 1391 pogrom, in which a great many Jews were massacred. In the decades following this calamity the Dominicans and Franciscans increased their proselytizing campaign, with the result that thousands of demoralized Jews adopted Christianity, albeit faint heartedly.

As Bonifacio Bartolomé notes in "The Jews and Conversos in Medieval Segovia" (essay one), it was as a result of the Dominican Fray Vicente Ferrer's aggressive conversion program in 1417 that many of the Segovian Jews converted. Five years before Ferrer's visit to the city, Catherine of Lancaster, acting as regent to her son Juan II, promulgated the Valladolid Laws, consigning the Jews to ghettos while restricting their social and economic activities. The Jewish communities were now at a low ebb; and yet in the next sixty years they expanded and prospered—an indication of their importance to the Spanish economy. Unfortunately their

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[7] This search for Castilian identity, or essentialism, was manifest in the Generation of 98's literature. It was also on display in the art of Ignacio Zuloaga, who resided in Segovia in the first decade of the twentieth century and who used the Segovian landscape to convey the authentic and noble, if fatalistic, character of Spain.

[8] For information on the canvas, see Ana María Arias de Cossió, *La pintura del siglo XIV en Segovia*, Segovia, 2010, pp. 132–133. As far as I am aware there have been no formal complaints lodged against this politically incorrect canvas. However, the Spanish Church is coming under increasing attack for the display of offensive religious imagery. A particularly contentious issue is that of Spain's patron saint *Santiago* or, as he is also known, *Santiago Matamoros* (St James the Moor Slayer), who is captured slaying Muslims in statues and paintings that grace many of Spain's churches and cathedrals. In 2004 the Santiago de Compostela cathedral chapter considered removing a seventeenth-century statue depicting this carnage, in order not to offend modern sensibilities. However, after encountering some opposition to this plan, the chapter settled for a compromise: the statue stayed put, but the base, which depicted the saint's prostrate Muslim victims, was covered with flowers.

political situation did not change. In 1480 the Catholic Monarchs, Ferdinand and Isabella, reinforced the earlier Valladolid Laws, isolating the Jews from Christian society. Twelve years later they were ordered to convert to Christianity or leave the country with few possessions. Many chose conversion, augmenting the ranks of Spain's Converso population, which, unlike the Jews, had thrived both politically and economically since the 1391 pogrom.

With the growth of the Spanish wool trade and the local textile industry, Segovia's Converso merchant community flourished during the fifteenth century. Indeed some of its members became enormously wealthy and politically powerful, often clashing with an Old Christian nobility that competed with them for control over the municipality and its jurisdictions.[9] At the same time successful Converso clans became the target of popular hatred, inflamed by the lower clergy, who found themselves subordinate to New Christian canons and bishops. With the establishment of the Inquisition, in 1479, the opponents of Segovia's Converso patricians found a powerful weapon with which to attack the enemy and settle old scores. Suddenly the city's powerful Converso families were under threat and looking for a means to safeguard their wealth and social privileges. It was not surprising, therefore, that many were attracted to the Comunero revolt (1520–21) as a means of redressing their grievances as both middle-sort professionals and reviled ex-Jews.

The extent the Conversos involvement in the Comunero Revolt has been a subject of long debate. However, I think few would dispute Josef Perez's view that "[they] presented proportionately more Comunero adherents than any other community or social group."[10] Perez notes that

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[9] According to the chronicler Alonso de Palencia, the Conversos of Segovia, "took over all the public offices and discharged them with extreme contempt for the nobility and with grave harm to the state." See Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "Conversos y cargos concejiles en el siglo XV," *RABM* 63, ii, 1957. In his picaresque work, *El donado hablador*, the Converso Jerónimo de Alcalá notes that Segovia's wealth was based on it's wool trade, an industry controlled, in his words, by "important men of all nations, *Montañes, Vizcaynos, Gallegos y Portugueses* who unable to create entailed estates in their lands, are forced to live by this means; and thus working in the wool industry they not only gain with their efforts wealth and property but are also pater familiases, supporting numerous officials, who they keep fed through their work." In picaresque literature *Montañes, Vizcaynos, Gallegos y Portugueses* were double entendre terms for Conversos. Alcalá's work was first published in 1624. I have cited an 1804 edition: *El donado hablador*, Madrid, 1804, p. 233. On page 237, Alcalá comments that the Segovia Cathedral, built on the proceeds of the booming wool trade, was a reconstruction of the celebrated Temple of Jerusalem [Solomon's temple]."

[10] "[A]dmitimos que los conversos aportaron proporcionalmente mayor número de adeptos a la Comunidad de otras comunidades o grupos sociales—sobre esto el ejemplo

this Converso involvement is particularly evident in Segovia, where the New Christian neighbourhood of San Miguel was required to pay the bulk of the city's post-revolt remunerations to the Crown. It is also significant, I think, that Segovia's Comunero leader, Juan Bravo, invariably described as an Old Christian hidalgo, owed his prominent position within the city to his second wife's family, the politically powerful Coronel clan, whose patriarch Abraham Seneor was, until his conversion to Christianity in 1492, the head of the Castilian Jewish community.

In fact, Bravo married twice into wealthy and influential Segovian New Christian families. His first wife, Catalina del Río, was the daughter of the Converso merchant and alderman, Diego del Río. These marriage unions should perhaps prompt us to examine more closely Bravo's own family background, whose claim to Old Christian nobility rests only with his mother's family, the Mendozas. His father's family were professionals from Berlanga de Duero (a town renowned for its large Jewish and Converso population),[11] who had gained distinction as superintendents of the Mendoza estate.[12]

The Conversos maintained a high social profile within sixteenth-century Segovia, and this inevitably led to tension between them and those Old Christians who competed for power and influence within the city. In contrast, Segovia's Morisco community was numerically and socially more modest. It was also politically less active, and thus despite its obvious heretical character it was rarely targeted by the Inquisition in the first

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de Segovia es particularmente significativo. Lo que aquí rechazamos es la idea de que los conversos, como tales, desempeñaron un papel determinante en el desencadenamiento y dirección de la revolucion…" Joseph Pérez, *La revolución de las comunidades de Castilla* (*1520–1521*), Madrid, 1977, p. 508. For a more vigorous argument in favor of Converso involvement in the uprising, see Juan Ignacio Gutiérrez Nieto, "Los conversos y el movimiento Comunero," *Hispania* 24 (1964), pp. 237–61.

[11] See Ricardo Muñoz Solla, "La comunidad judia de Berlanga de Duero," in Yolanda Moreno Koch and Ricardo Izquierdo Benito eds., *Del pasado judio en los reinos medievales hispánicos: afinidad y distanciamiento*, Toledo, 2005, pp. 205–230.

[12] The Mendozas invariably placed the administration of their territories in the hands of able and educated Conversos, and these agents were sometimes conscripted into the lower branches of the family, thus creating an extensive and secure client network. This may have been the case of Gonzalo Bravo de Laguna, Juan Bravo's father, warden of the Mendoza castle at Atienza, who married María de Mendoza y Zuñiga, daughter of the Count of Monteagudo. In 1516, Gonzalo's twin brother, Juan Ortega, who through Mendoza support had risen to become the wealthy Bishop of Coria, created a trust fund for the construction of a chapel in his home town of Berlanga, where heretofore his family had been socially invisible. Eventually a chapel and tomb were constructed in the town's collegiate church for both himself and his brother Gonzalo: a monument proclaiming their Old Christian respectability.

decades after the 1502 mass conversions.[13] However, by the mid sixteenth century this situation had radically changed, as Ottoman Turk expansionism in the Eastern Mediterranean and Barbary pirate raids on the Spanish coast sensitized the Crown to Muslim subversion on the peninsula.

In 1565 three Crown agents infiltrated the Segovia *moreria*, posing as emissaries of the King of Algeria and the Grand Turk. Their mission was to gauge the Morisco community's pro-Ottoman sentiments by inviting them to join forces with an Algerian-Turkish invasion force. While the Segovian Moriscos demonstrated little interest in this scheme—noting that they had been deceived on many previous occasions by rumors of an imminent invasion—they did unwittingly offer the infiltrators invaluable information on the extent of Old Castile's clandestine Morisco network, centred in Avila, Medina del Campo, Arévalo and Segovia. This network was used to organize covert travel to the Valencian coast for those crypto-Muslims who wished to emigrate to North Africa or Salonika.[14]

The information gleaned from the Segovia Moriscos confirmed the Crown's suspicions that the Morisco minority was subversive. However, its major preoccupation was not the small Old-Castilian communities but the much larger groups in Valencia and, above all, Granada, who still maintained their Arabic language and culture. A heavy handed attempt to integrate the Granadan Moriscos into mainstream Christian culture, by banning Arabic dress and language, led in 1569 to the Alpujarras rebellion and, subsequently, to the resettlement of the Granada community throughout Castile. In October 1570 five hundred of these wretched people were allocated to Segovia. Although we have little information on this group, it seems that they were not wholeheartedly welcomed by the Segovian Morisco community.[15] As elsewhere, the *antiguos* were worried that the *granadinos* would not only compete with them for work, but would also

[13] This is not to say that the Segovia Morisco community was bereft of intellectuals. The Muslim scholar Isa was resident in Segovia in the mid fifteenth century, which indicates that the city was home to an important Mudejar intellectual community. It is apparent that this community remained active in the sixteenth century. In his writings, the Young Man of Arévalo tells us that an important Morisco assembly held at Zaragoza was led by a Don Manrique of Segovia. See L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain 1500 to 1614*, Chicago and London, 2005, p. 182. For the influence of Isa de Segovia on Islamic literature, see Gerard Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Içа de Segovia* (fl. 1450), *His Antecedents and Successors*, Leiden, 1994.

[14] Serafín de Tapia, "Las redes comerciales de los moriscos de Castilla la Vieja: un vehiculo para sus complicidades," *Studia Historica, Historia Moderna*, XI (1993), pp. 231–243 (p. 236).

[15] L.P. Harvey, op. cit. p. 237.

seriously affect their relationship with the Old Christian authorities. Thus the older community was at pains to distinguish itself from the new one. Not that this made any difference to its fate. The decision to expel the Moriscos, taken by Philip III in April, 1609, while in residence at Segovia's Alcázar, targeted *antiguos* and *granadinos* alike, with few exceptions.

The Essays

Given that the 2008 Segovia conference took place on the eve of the quatrocentennial of the Morisco expulsion from Spain, it was perhaps to be expected that the event would attract an unusually large number of Morisco papers. This bias towards Morisco scholarship is also reflected in the essay selection for this volume.

The collection begins with five essays that examine the New Christian phenomenon at the local level. In the first of these essays, Bonifacio Bartolomé offers a narrative account of the Conversos in late medieval Segovia. Unfortunately, the Segovian Inquisition papers have long disappeared, leaving the historian to piece together a picture of the city's Converso community from scant and disparate sources. One of the more important extant documents from the fifteenth century is the trial account of the Arias Dávila family, in 1489, which sheds light on the relationship between the city's patrician Converso families and their Old Christian rivals for political power and status.

The next four essays scrutinize the Morisco communities in the Canary Islands, the "Five Towns" of La Mancha, Seville and Valencia. In the "Canary Moriscos: A Different Reality," Luis Alberto Anaya points out the differences between the Canary Islands' Moriscos and their Peninsular counterparts. Most significantly, the Canary Moriscos were not descendents of the Hispano-Muslim population, but, for the most part, of slaves captured in raids on the African coast in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Lacking the cultural homogeneity of the mainland Morisco communities, once freed these men and women integrated with greater success into Old Christian society, forming a high proportion of mixed marriages. As a result of this integration, the Canary Moriscos were saved from the 1609 expulsion, and in 1615 won the right to be referred to by the nomenclature *natural* rather than *morisco*.

Trevor Dadson's study of the Old Morisco community of the "Five Towns" of La Mancha—Daimiel, Almagro, Bolaños, Aldea del Rey and Villarrubia de los Ojos—also examines the assimilationist efforts of a Muslim community that had inhabited the Campo de Calatrava since the thir-

teenth century, first as Mudejars, and later, after the enforced conversions of 1502, as Moriscos. Aware of the dangers of inquisitorial investigations, this community quickly gained a royal privilege, acknowledging its fidelity and Christian orthodoxy. This document was then used with success to combat early inquiries by over zealous inquisitors. Dadson's study focuses particularly on Villarrubia de los Ojos, where, despite making up almost fifty percent of the town's population, the Moriscos' successful integration spared many of them from the 1609 expulsion. While the reasons for this assimilation are by no means clear, Dadson believes that the community's lack of a religious elite group at the time of the 1502 conversion order left it without a strong cohesive leadership. The Morisco elite that emerged in the sixteenth century was made up of professionals whose social status was based on their successful interaction with Old Christian authorities. As such they were more ready to advocate compliance and conformity.

Until recently, scholars have tended to view the Moriscos as a homogeneous socio-religious group that remained relatively unchanged over the course of the sixteenth century. Manuel Fernández and Rafael Pérez's essay, "The Morisco Problem and Seville (1480–1610)," dispels this notion, presenting us with the complex phenomenon of Morisco identity and its evolution in the Andalucian city. The essay captures the human tragedy of the Morisco Other, while offering a nuanced analysis of the Seville community's political, economic and psychological character. Most importantly, it sheds light on the multiple ambiguities of Morisco "assimilation" and "integration," terms requiring careful qualification when applied to Spain's New Christians.

The nuances of Morisco integration are also examined by Benjamin Ehlers in "Violence and Religious Identity in Early Modern Valencia." Supporting his thesis with reference to the civil court cases contained within the Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Ehlers argues that while most of the Valencian Morisco community were heretics, they were also socially integrated. These trial documents contradict the image painted by expulsion propagandists like Jaime Bleda, who presented the Moriscos as fifth columnists, violently antagonistic towards their Old Christian neighbors. In fact, the local Moriscos were as likely to attack each other in blood feuds as the Old Christian community; they were also inclined to worry about their local interests, often forming social bonds with Old Christian authorities against outside encroachment, whether the interloper were Christian or Muslim.

Morisco conspiracy was exaggerated by the authorities, writes Luis Bernabé, for a number of reasons, among which was a desire to justify Inquisition activity. In his essay "On Morisco Networks and Collectives,"

Bernabé offers a revised picture of Morisco subversion "complicities," based on recent scholarship. Although the advisors to Philip II and III were wont to see clandestine Morisco "complicities," like the one unearthed in Gea de Albarracín in 1577, as revolutionary cells, plotting the invasion of the Ottoman Turk, they were for the most part interconnected support groups that had existed for generations to maintain Islamic culture. While their discussions may have turned on occasion to messianic and eschatological themes, focussing on their deliverance from Christian oppression, the complicities were more often interested in practical considerations, like facilitating Morisco flight to Muslim territory. Although our understanding of the Morisco networks is still limited, it is clear that they were extensive, with points of contact throughout Spain and abroad. It was as a result of this quite sophisticated apparatus that thousands of Moriscos were relocated to France, North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean with relative order in the months and years following the 1609 edict of expulsion.

While it is evident that the Moriscos maintained quite complex networks for the purposes of trade, social interaction and religious and cultural cohesion, it is difficult to gain data on the composition, extent and modus operandi of these organizations. In "An Extensive Network of Morisco Merchants," William Childers suggests how the *Concejo de Población* registers may aid us in this task. The registers, housed in the Simancas state archive, record applications by Granadan Moriscos, after the 1568 War of the Alpujarras, to be awarded Old Christian status. These requests were supported either by evidence that their paternal families were Old Christian, or that one of their ancestors had already been granted the privilege for converting to Christianity voluntarily, before the fall of the Islamic kingdom of Granada in 1492, receiving the title *cristiano viejo de moro* (Old Christian Moor). While a number of scholars have examined these registers, Childers believes they have not fully exploited their potential. Indeed, careful scrutiny of the *Consejo*'s papers indicates that applications for Old Christian status were often carefully coordinated by professional Morisco organizations which controlled witnesses and agents to ensure the applicants' success. Once they had acquired their new status, Moriscos were no longer subject to travel restrictions, thus they could move freely around the country, maintaining contact with family and colleagues for business purposes and social and religious support. Examined closely the registers reveal that the Moriscos claiming Old Christian status were not individuals abandoning their socio-religious group, but members of complex organizations working to maintain economic and social unity in a period of increasing tension and oppression.

Mary Elizabeth Perry's essay, "Morisco Stories and the Complexities of Resistance and Assimilation," also focuses on the Moriscos' attempts to maintain cultural cohesion. Perry's subject is the *aljamiado* folk tales that circulated clandestinely during the sixteenth century. All three of the tales she examines here are re-workings or corruptions of Christian stories, two of which are taken from the Bible. All three reflect the distress and frustrations of a community trying to maintain its faith and culture in a hostile environment; the underlying message being that if the individual keeps the faith he or she will eventually be rewarded. Nevertheless, the hybridization of Christian stories may also reflect a tendency towards religious syncretism and accommodation. The focus on a private rather than corporate faith would indeed seem to reveal an interest in evangelical tendencies that was also evident in sixteenth-century Spain's Converso community. At the same time, there is no denying that these stories are subversive incursions into Christian literary territory, which is occupied, transformed and claimed for an Islamic faith. Like the Lead Books of Granada, they reveal the complexities of a community that resented Christian Spain while recognizing instinctively the need to renegotiate its religion and culture as a matter of survival.

Steven Hutchinson's essay, "The Morisco Problem in its Mediterranean Dimension . . ." examines an episode from Cervantes' *Persiles y Sigismunda*, in which the pilgrims find themselves caught up in a Barbary pirate raid on the Valencia coast. The pirates' objective is not, however, to plunder but to spirit away the local community of crypto-Muslim Moriscos to Islamic North Africa. The town's escapees are juxtaposed against two good (Christian) ones, who warn the pilgrims of the raid: the Morisca Rafala and her fervently Christian uncle Xarife, who vilifies his crypto-Muslim neighbors in a speech prophesying the eventual expulsion of Spain's Moriscos (the event takes place in the 1550s) for their sins against Christianity. But as Hutchinson points out, a careful study of the text reveals strange ambiguities and contradictions. Although the two Morisco informers present their fellows as treacherous and violent, there is little evidence of this. Indeed the only real damage the émigrés inflict is to their own property, destroying their houses before they board ship for North Africa. Xarife's prophesy is also, to the say the least, ironic, forecasting the expulsion for Spain's entire Morisco population as punishment for the crypto-Muslim's flight from the country. It is as if Cervantes wants his discerning reader to be aware that this is a one-sided view, put forward, as Hutchinson remarks, by "a narrator of Counter-Reformation sympathies—by no means to be confused with the author Cervantes" and by "two Christian Moriscos

[who] monopolize all that is said about their Muslim Morisco neighbors, obfuscating a very distinct reality that the text nonetheless allows us to discern in the background."

Ambiguity and obfuscation are also the theme of Babara Weissberger's study, "Blindness and Anti-Semitism in Lope's *El niño inocente* . . ." Although Lope's play, which presents the blood libel legend of La Guardia, is often cited as evidence of the playwright's anti-Semitism, Weissberger believes the work admits a more nuanced reading. In her view, Lope manipulates the theme of blindness, traditionally associated with the Jewish anthropomorphic symbol Synagoga, to play with the concepts of reality and illusion, offering a deliberately opaque interpretation of the famous incident.

Lope's drama was conceived against a background of increasing vigilance towards the Conversos by a Counter-Reformation Church sensitive to alien elements within religion and culture. This suspicion of the Conversos was particularly evident in the Portuguese Church, which had long regarded its New Christians as crypto-Jews. In "Political Aspects of the Converso Problem . . .," Ignacio Pulido studies the Church's attitude towards the Conversos during the period from the unification of Spain and Portugal under Philip II in 1580 to the Portuguese war of independence some sixty years later. Pulido notes that both the Portuguese Church and Inquisition led an opposition movement against a Spanish Crown that attempted to circumvent Portuguese officials and govern by informal *juntas*. One of the major bones of contention was the Crown's relationship with the Portuguese Conversos, whom it was disposed to treat leniently in exchange for financial aid. The Church and Inquisition focused on this "favoritism" to paint the Spanish government as anti-Portuguese, intent on corrupting the society through its unholy alliance with insidious Jewry. Thus the Converso issue took center stage in an incipient independence movement, with the Church leading the attack through its exploitation of a sixteenth-century public sphere, represented by pulpit, procession and *auto de fe*.

The strained relationship between Spain and Portugal is also the theme of the final essay, Francois Soyer's "Nowhere to Run . . .," which examines the extradition agreements between the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Modern study of the various Portuguese and Spanish tribunals of the Holy Office has gathered impetus during the past quarter of a century. However, as Soyer points out, one aspect of this history has been so far overlooked: namely the interaction between the Spanish and Portuguese institutions. Practically

nothing is known of the ties that existed between the inquisitors operating on both sides of the Luso-Spanish borders and how they collaborated to suppress heresy across the Iberian Peninsula. Focusing on hitherto unedited documents from the archives of the Inquisition in Lisbon, Soyer attempts to shed light on this complex issue.

CHAPTER ONE

THE JEWS AND CONVERSOS IN MEDIEVAL SEGOVIA*

Bonifacio Bartolomé Herrero**

Throughout the Middle Ages, Christians, Jews and Muslims lived their daily lives in Segovia together. In the fifteenth century, these three religious groups were joined by a sizeable and growing Converso community, some of whose members—including Diego Arias Dávila, his son Juan Arias Dávila, and Andrés de Cabrera—played a prominent role in Castilian politics at the time. The case of Abraham Seneor (Fernán Pérez Coronel) is particularly noteworthy in this respect, both because of the circumstances in which his late conversion occurred, and because of its repercussions.

The understandable distinction which the Conversos drew between their public and social activities on the one hand, and their beliefs and personal motivations on the other, is a major handicap in any attempt to explore this community, or to define attitudes and specificities derived from its members Jewish origin. Conversos, though united by their shared origin and affected by largely common difficulties, did not constitute a structured, coherent group, owing, of course, partly to external pressures, but also to the huge differences in attitudes they can be said to have had. Moreover, Conversos sought to avoid the subject of their Jewish origin from an early stage, and hid, where applicable, any Jewish practices, initially so as not to damage their chances of integration into the Christian society to which they belonged, and subsequently to dodge the actions of the Inquisition.

Inquisition documentation was in fact the main source of information on the feelings and practices of the Segovian Conversos, therefore its disappearance has deprived us of first-hand data on this elusive issue.[1] The

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** Translated by Nicola Stapleton.

[1] We do not know the circumstances in which the Segovia Inquisition tribunal's documents were lost. It is possible that some of the documents were lost in transit when the

trials brought against several members of the Arias Dávila family, which sheds some light on the matter in the years prior to expulsion, are the most noteworthy exceptions in this respect.

Given this scenario, the intention of this essay is to offer an overall picture of Segovian Conversos in the Middle Ages. It is a lengthy period, the end of which can be situated, for our purposes, in the two decades between the Inquisition's arrival in the city in 1486 and the Christian consolidation of Segovian society after the two consecutive expulsions of Jews and Muslims in 1492 and 1502.

Segovia's Jewish Community (1215–1492)

Although virtually none of the family origins of Segovia's Conversos are known, it is reasonable to assume that a large number of them came from the city's *aljama*. Consequently, before moving on to the Conversos, I think it interesting to pause for a moment to consider the development of Segovia's Jewish community.[2]

Until the Middle Ages, there are no references, of even an occasional nature, that suggest the presence of Jews in Segovia. It is likely that the earliest Jewish settlers reached the city at some point in the twelfth century, although the first confirmed news of such settlement is in 1215, when their presence is mentioned, indirectly, in the Parish of San Miguel.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, references to Segovia's Jewish population are scarce and incomplete, although they do at least reveal a constant presence of members of this community in the city. At that point, the Jewish *aljama* may have comprised some sixty families, who had the main synagogue available to them and probably the other older

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tribunal was integrated into the one at Valladolid in the first years of the sixteenth century. This loss was no doubt aggravated by a long period of document neglect after the seventeenth century, when the trial records were no longer consulted for juridical purposes.

[2] A closer look at the history of Segovian Jews can be found in my publications "Los judíos en Segovia, 1215–1492," *La herencia judía en la Red de Juderías de España—Caminos de Sefarad*, Tortosa, 2000, pp. 141–164; "La aljama judía de Segovia en la plena edad media (1215–1412)," in A. Villar Movellán, M.R. Castro Castillo (eds.), *El patrimonio hebreo en la España medieval. Actas de las II Jornadas de Historia del Arte. Córdoba-Lucena, 27, 28, 29 y 30 de noviembre de 1999*, Córdoba, 2004, pp. 239–256; and *Guía de la judería de Segovia*, Zaragoza, 2006. The book by J.A. Ruiz Hernando, *El barrio de la aljama hebrea de Segovia*, Segovia, 2008, is a definitive study of the Jewish quarter as a physical space.

synagogue as well, in addition to two religious schools and their own butcher's shop.

The years between 1391 and 1419 were a critical period for Segovia's Jewish community, owing to four particularly significant circumstances: the climate created in 1391 by the attacks on Castile's Jewish neighborhoods, the preaching of Dominican friar Vicente Ferrer towards the end of 1411, the segregation of the Jewish population in line with the Ayllón Laws of 1412, and the accusations of profanation of the Host and the attempted murder of Segovian bishop Juan Vázquez. This last affair, about which we unfortunately know very little, led to the expropriation of the main synagogue, which was handed over to the Monastery of Santa María de Párraces in 1419.

Although Segovia's Jewish *aljama* entered the fifteenth century immersed in a profound crisis, by about 1470 it had successfully turned itself into one of the largest and richest in the kingdom. In five decades, Segovia's Jews had grown from a marginalized community with very little influence in the city to one that had gradually recovered its significance in the urban context.

In 1481, in keeping with the orders of the Catholic Monarchs, the Jewish community was grouped together in a large section of the urban area which, as a result of the growth of the Jewish neighborhood, was four times larger than the area demarcated in 1412. The tradition of coexistence among Christians, Muslims and Jews, which had lasted three centuries in Segovia, was finally truncated for the Jews in 1492, when they were forced to convert or leave the kingdom.

Segovia's Conversos between the Twelfth and Fourteenth Centuries

The first reference to Conversos in Segovia can be found in a document by Pope Clement III (1187–1191), in which the pontiff informed Bishop Gonzalo that Jews and Muslims converted to Christianity could remain with their wives even if the latter did not convert, given that the marriage bond that united them was still legitimate.[3] The problem with this document is that the original has been lost and the copy preserved does not conclusively clarify to whom it was addressed. Consequently, whereas some historians consider the recipient to have been the Bishop of Segovia, others

[3] S. Simonsohn, *The Apostolic See and the Jews*, I, Toronto, 1988, doc. 62, p. 65.

cite the canons of Ciudad Rodrigo. Despite these doubts, I mention this reference because the historical context makes it possible that, given that it is more than likely that Jews were living in the city in the late twelfth century, the presence of early Conversos is also possible.

Almost a century later, we find two stories about a Converso woman where literary and historical aspects appear inextricably combined, indeed to such an extent that they hamper a clear separation between narrative discourse and the potential historical facts on which they may be based.

The story of María del Salto can be found in two texts that date from the final quarter of the thirteenth century. The first is the *Cantigas de Santa María*, written under the patronage of King Alfonso X between 1274 and 1277, and the second is *Vitae Sanctorum*, which the Dominican friar Rodrigo de Cerrato completed in 1276.[4] Both texts were clearly written at virtually the same time, albeit in two very different settings. This chronological coincidence is undoubtedly striking. However, we are not aware of whether there was any kind of link between Fray Rodrigo and the literary circle connected with King Alfonso. It is therefore impossible to establish whether both took the story from a common source or whether one of the texts is directly derived from the other.

Where the *Cantigas* are concerned, King Alfonso X, in keeping with the medieval tradition of singing eulogies to the Virgin Mary, promoted the compilation of a series of stories designed to extol the virtues of the Mother of God. The choice of literary format for these stories was the canticle, in which the Galician-Portuguese poetic tradition is set to music. Four manuscripts of the canticles are currently preserved. The two to be found in the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial are particularly outstanding for their illustrations, and considered the supreme accomplishment of Castilian Gothic miniatures.

The *Cantigas de Santa María* contain several stories set in the city of Segovia, but the one to which we now turn our attention is number 107, the title of which runs as follows: "Guardóu da morte huna iudea que espenaron en Segobia et porque s'encomendóu á ela non morréu nen se feríu." (She saved from death a Jewish woman thrown over a cliff in Segovia and because she commended her soul to Her, she neither died nor was she harmed.) This canticle, like the others, is written in Galician and stands

[4] *Cantigas de Santa María*, Library of the Monastery of San Lorenzo de El Escorial, codices J.b.1. *Vitae Sanctorum*, Segovia Cathedral Archive, B-275, ff. 199 v-200 r.

out for its narrative character. In one of the El Escorial codices, the text is accompanied by six splendid vignettes which illustrate the story.

For his part, the Dominican friar Rodrigo de Cerrato was a thirteenth-century hagiographer, known in particular for the aforementioned *Vitae Sanctorum*, a work in which he compiled the biographies of saints, recounted miracles and commented on certain moments in the liturgical cycle. One of the Marian subjects which Fray Rodrigo dealt with was precisely the miracle that occurred in Segovia with which we are dealing here.

Although the two stories recount the same incident, the canticle text is short, offering little in the way of information, whereas the Dominican friar offers a longer, more detailed account.[5] I shall therefore continue with the latter in order to present the sequence of events described.

According to Fray Rodrigo, in about 1237, a Christian woman accused a Jewish woman of committing adultery with her husband. In view of the serious nature of the offence and the need to make an apology to the Christian religion, the Jewish woman was condemned to be hurled from a cliff on the outskirts of the city. When the accused reached the place of execution, she was undressed and tied up, repeatedly proclaiming her innocence. Believing all was lost, she commended her soul to the Virgin Mary as she was hurled into the void. Miraculously, she came to no harm, as the Christians, Jews and Muslims who had gathered to witness the execution were able to confirm. Having thus proved her innocence, and convinced that she had been spared by the Virgin's divine intervention, the Jewish woman asked for baptism. From that point on, she became known as *Marisaltus* or Mary of the Leap. 'Mary' was the Christian name she chose in gratitude to the Virgin, while 'the Leap' was a reminder of the miracle that had prevented her death.

From the historian's viewpoint, Canticle 107 and Fray Rodrigo Cerrato's story are the only texts that provide access, albeit of a rather vague nature, to the figure of Marisaltus. There are a large number of subsequent versions of this story, but their value is exclusively literary, as they were written by authors who lived several centuries after the events they recount. Indeed, the authors of the later versions do little more than use

[5] The two accounts coincide in essence, but the details differ. For instance, whereas the *cantiga* states that the woman was hurled from the cliffs by the Jews themselves, which implies that the denunciation, trial and sentence took place within the Jewish *aljama*, Rodrigo de Cerrato's text specifies that the accusation was made by a Christian woman before the city's judges and that its officials were responsible for carrying out the sentence.

their imaginations to fill in the gaps and answer the questions raised in the original two texts.[6]

The story of Marisaltus has been the object of a number of studies. Fita analyses both accounts together, while the text and illustrations of the canticle that have been studied by, among others: Contreras, Fradejas and Benaim.[7] Sanz, for his part, provides an edited version of Fray Rodrigo's narrative.[8] The major question posed by all the authors quoted is the degree of historicity of the account. It has by now become clear that the matter cannot be definitively resolved with the paltry data offered by the canticle and Fray Rodrigo, but we lack any further documentary, chronicular or literary reference from the period about the occurrence.

Two of the authors quoted, Fradejas and Benaim, refute the historical background of the canticles story, alleging that what is recounted here flies in the face of the Castilian and Jewish legislative tradition of the period. Personally, however, I believe there to be an argument that could overcome these objections, rendering a real basis for the events as a possibility. It is true that Castilian and Jewish legislative tradition and legal practice do not appear to cater for such a severe penalty for adulterers. It was, however, a penalty established by the Sepúlveda *fuero* for a Jew who had a sexual relationship with a Christian woman. Moreover, it was specified that the sentence was to be carried out by hurling the convicted man over a cliff.[9] The town of Sepúlveda is sixty kilometers from Segovia and, like it, belongs to the Segovian diocese. Both circumstances—its

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[6] These texts have been compiled and analyzed by R. Prieto de la Iglesia and A.B. Sánchez Prieto, "La Cantiga 107 de Alfonso X y el proceso de transformación de la leyenda de María del Salto," *Estudios Segovianos*, 38 (1997), pp. 153–226.

[7] F. Fita, "La judería de Segovia. Documentos inéditos (9. Marisaltos o la hebrea de la Fuencisla. Siglo XIII)," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, 9 (1886), pp. 372–389. Marqués de Lozoya (Juan de Contreras y López de Ayala), "Seis estampas de la vida segoviana del siglo XIII," *Correo Erudito. Gaceta de las letras y de las artes*, 2 (1941), pp. 332–334. J. Fradejas Lebrero, "La cantiga CVII o de Mari Saltos," *Fragmentos*, 2 (1984), pp. 20–32. A. Benaim de Lasry, "Marisaltos: Artificial Purification in Alfonso el Sabio's Cantiga 107," in I.J. Katz, J.E. Keller eds., *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry. Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221–1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year 1981 (New York, November 19–21)*, Madison, 1987, pp. 299–311.

[8] H. Sanz y Sanz, "El Cerratense," *Estudios Segovianos*, 10 (1958), pp. 429–438. The transcription can be found on pp. 436–438.

[9] "On a Jewish man found with a Christian woman. Any Jewish man who is found with a Christian woman shall be hurled from the cliff, and she shall be burned. If he denies it, but it can be proven by two Christians and one Jew who know it to be true or saw it, justice shall be done as set forth above" [own trans.], E. Sáez, "Edición crítica y apéndice documental," *Los fueros de Sepúlveda*, Segovia, 1953, p. 90. The *fuero* from which this title is taken is held in a copy which dates from 1300.

proximity and integration in the same bishopric—mean that relations between the two towns have always been very close.

There is, then, a local legislative tradition that is in keeping with the circumstances described by Fray Rodrigo de Cerrato, albeit we should make certain provisos. In the first place, the *fuero* only specifies the punishment for Jewish men, whereas no mention is made of cases in which a Jewish woman had sexual relations with a Christian man. Secondly, and more importantly, the *fueros* were responsible for local legislation and did not apply outside their respective jurisdiction, so we cannot assume that this law was also in force in the city of Segovia. Having said that, and bearing in mind that we no longer have any record of Segovia's *fuero* of that time, two possibilities emerge: firstly, Segovian and Sepulvedan legislation may well have coincided on the issue in question and the events may therefore have occurred in Segovia; and secondly, the occurrence may have originally taken place in Sepúlveda and oral tradition or the writers of the texts may have located the story in Segovia.

Finally, I find it striking that, whether or not the story of Marisaltus occurred, there is no record that the episode had any repercussions in thirteenth-century Segovia.[10] Local historiographic tradition has linked the incident with Marian devotion to the Virgin of the Fuencisla, the city's patron, but a review of the pertinent documentation obliges us to transport the emergence of this popular worship to the end of the fifteenth century at the earliest.

After the intriguing episode of Marisaltus, sources offer nothing but a long and significant silence on Segovia's Conversos, lasting almost a century and a half. In fact, in Segovia's documentation, I have only been able to locate one testimony, which may refer to two Christians of Jewish origin. In 1346, the Dean of Segovia's Cathedral, Martín Fernández, presented to the institution the accounts for his stewardship of the poor for the previous year. The alms presented included "ten *maravedis* given to a Converso." The accounts also record that "they ordered a Converso schoolboy to be given a skirt, a cape and shoes."[11] As we can see, neither of these references specify that these were Conversos from Judaism; however, the testimony does provide valid evidence of the early fourteenth-century Chapter's openness to those recently converted to Christianity.

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[10] The manner in which this story was recovered in the fifteenth century, however—when there were fierce tensions with the Jewish population—is particularly interesting. Segovia's authorities may, in the circumstances, have presented Marisaltus as a precedent and an example for the Jews, whom they were actively seeking to convert.

[11] Segovia Cathedral Archive, C-1-2, fol. 47 v [own trans.]

The Cathedral's sensitivity to Conversos links in well with that shown by Pedro de Cuéllar, who was bishop in the diocese at that moment. Indeed, in 1325, at the beginning of his episcopacy, Pedro had convened a Diocesan synod, the minutes of which reflect the prelate's position towards Jews and those who had converted from Judaism. He indicates "that all of them must join the faith of Jesus Christ."[12] In view of this stance, which was commonplace in ecclesiastical circles, Pedro de Cuéllar also approved of any of his congregation marrying a Jewish woman, provided she agreed to be baptized.[13] At the same time, the Bishop was cautious about accepting any conversion from Judaism without having first established its sincerity and the absence of ulterior motives outside the strictly religious ambit.[14]

The Rupture of Co-existence and the Origin of the Converso "Problem" in Segovia (1391–1419)

As we have seen, between the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the religious co-existence found in Castile until that point was radically upset. The 1391 attacks on the Jewish quarters, the preaching of Fray Vicente Ferrer and the 1412 Laws of Ayllón, led to the forced mass conversion of Jews to Christianity all over the kingdom. Although Segovia undoubtedly played a part in these events, we are unaware of the details of exactly what occurred.

On 24 October 1411, "for when Fray Vicente came and with him many poor people," the Cathedral Council adopted a series of different measures to accommodate and feed the Dominican friar and forty of his companions

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[12] A. García y García, *Synodicon Hispanum. VI. Ávila y Segovia*, Madrid, 1993, p. 329 [own trans.]. Later in the text, the Bishop emphasizes the same idea: "After this the priest goes to the right-hand side of the altar as a sign that the Jews should turn towards the world of the Catholic faith" [own trans.], p. 333.

[13] "In the Old Testament, God proclaimed that the Jews should not take women born of the sons of another faith. But the Christian man may make a marriage promise to a woman who is not of our faith if she converts and thus, in the hope that he may marry her as we have said, they can make this promise in this hope" [own trans.], García y García, *Synodicon*, p. 315.

[14] "And given the danger for small children, they should be baptized: But if they are quite big, they should not be baptized until they have first been instructed in the faith for two or three months (?) in accordance with the Bishop's will, if it may be done without danger. For it may occur in many ways that a Jew could come to the priest to be baptized and perhaps be afraid that the Jews might kill him and other similar things" [own trans.], García y García, *Synodicon*, pp. 281–282.

"from the day he entered this city until the day he departed."[15] This interesting piece of information reveals the importance of Vicente Ferrer's visit to the city. At the same time, however, careful reading of the record suggests certain subtle reservations about the group approaching Segovia. Although the measures taken are undoubtedly charitable, it would appear that they also sought to protect the institution from the less desirable effects of the influx, *en masse* and imposed, of penitents to the city.

Considering events in Segovia as a whole in the course of these years, I am inclined to think that it was precisely the preaching of Vicente Ferrer which may have led to the first communal baptism of Jews in the city. There are no eye-witness accounts of what the arrival of Fray Vicente meant for the Jewish community, but some much later allusions to the subject in Inquisition documents would appear to suggest that the first clearly-defined generation of Conversos was created as a result of the Dominican friar's presence in the city.[16]

In any case, the immediate appearance of Conversos in the documentation of the day proves that, from that point on, their presence in the city was no longer merely testimonial. In 1413, for instance, Cathedral records refer to a *Conversa*, the widow of a craftsman, whose rent was lowered.[17] Another significant case is that of Juan González Correnviernes, who is referred to in 1419.[18] The entry does not refer to his trade or Converso status, but his second name or surname is unmistakably Jewish in origin.[19]

The sudden emergence in Segovia of a group of Conversos was a major novelty in civil society. Within a presumably short space of time, the relationships that had previously existed between Christians and Jews were inevitably altered by the appearance of a new group which, whether they

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[15] Segovia Cathedral Archive, C-1-4, f. 11 r [own trans.]

[16] In the Inquisition proceedings brought against the Arias Dávila family, it is noted that Diego Arias Dávila and his wife Elvira González were baptized precisely in the context of the Dominican friar's teachings. See C. Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae. III. Proceso inquisitorial contra los Arias Dávila segovianos: un enfrentamiento social entre judíos y conversos*, Salamanca, 1986, no. 76, p. 48; and no. 162, p. 94.

[17] "The next Wednesday, they were instructed to reduce the rent of the Conversa, the gaiter-maker's wife, by thirty maravedis in old money for the house she has above the Almuzara" [own trans.], Segovia Cathedral Archive, C-1-5, fol. 25 r.

[18] "Juan Gonzales Correnviernes has the new houses (…) for a hundred and sixty old maravedis, which is now three hundred and twenty maravedis" [own trans.], Segovia Cathedral Archive, C-422, fol. 8 r.

[19] This Correnviernes is a contraction of "corre en viernes" [runs on Friday] and undoubtedly refers to the haste with which the Jews sought to settle matters pending on a Friday, before the day of rest they were obliged to observe on the Sabbath.

liked it or not, necessarily swung between their Jewish roots and the Christian environment which had embraced them.

From a social and professional standpoint, it would appear that the integration of the Conversos did not pose any major difficulty. Indeed, within a few decades both they and their descendants can be found occupying very prominent positions in the city's civil and ecclesiastical institutions. The Conversos' religious integration is, of course, much more difficult to quantify and it is not possible to generalize, since the situation needs to be considered case by case. Whereas some Conversos continued to respect the Jewish precepts and traditions and did not show a great deal of interest in forming part of the Christian community, others respectfully observed their new credo right from the outset.

Conversos before the Inquisition (*1419–1486*)

In the period between the preaching of Fray Vicente Ferrer and the establishment of a Court of the Inquisition in Segovia, the Conversos consolidated their position as a solid and flourishing force in the city. Once again, we lack the eye-witness accounts that would provide us with details as to how this presence evolved, although perhaps the most outstanding circumstance is that, at least on the surface, the Conversos found no obstacles to full integration. Thus, with the passing of time, we find Conversos or their descendents among the council's *regidores* and becoming members of groups of *quiñonero* knights, an institution comprising the privileged circles of society, the origins of which dated back to the repopulation of Segovia in the eleventh century.[20] As far as the ecclesiastical circles are concerned, a second-generation Christian, Juan Arias Dávila, occupied the episcopal see between 1461 and 1497, while other Conversos joined the Cathedral or parish clergy or entered monasteries, like the Hieronymite monastery of Santa María del Parral or the Clarissan monastery of San Antonio.[21]

Most Conversos, however, lived a life removed from public activity. It therefore comes as something of a surprise that Segovia's civil and eccle-

[20] M. Asenjo González, *Segovia. La ciudad y su tierra a fines del medievo*, Segovia, 1986, p. 330.

[21] Asenjo González, *Segovia*, pp. 618–619, 685 and 687. D.M. Gitlitz, *Secrecy and Deceit. The Religion of the Crypto-Jews*, New Mexico, 2002, p. 589.

siastical government should have been monopolized in the second half of the fifteenth century by three figures of Jewish origin, recently settled in the city: Diego Arias Dávila, his son Juan and Andrés de Cabrera.[22]

The rise of Segovia's two great Converso lineages—the Arias Dávila and the Cabrera families—took place under the protection and patronage of Henry IV of Castile. In 1440, while still Prince of Asturias, Henry had received the city of Segovia from his father as part of his domain. The future monarch immediately identified with the city. He lost no time in setting up residence here and turning it into one of the kingdom's political hubs. The presence of Henry IV in Segovia, reinforced after the building of the Royal Palace of San Martín, changed the balance of power in the city. Henry placed its governance in the hands of new men who had his full trust, and sought to remove both senior nobility and local lineage from positions of authority. This approach was to condition Segovia's political and economic development, which did not recover its natural balance until the sixteenth century.

A good example of the situation which the convergence of key Castilian interests produced in the city during the reign of Henry IV can be found in 1473, when the Marquis of Villena, Juan Pacheco, attempted to seize the fortress of Segovia. Without seeking to interpret the significance of this failed operation, which reflects the complexity of Castilian politics at the time, I would emphasize that, in order to conceal the true aim of the assault and gain the sympathy and support of the people of Segovia, Juan Pacheco ordered that the conspirators "incite the people against the Conversos and rob them."[23] Agitation was therefore artificially stirred up against the Converso community. At the same time, however, we cannot but admit that, by choosing this alibi rather than any other, Pacheco, a shrewd politician, was undoubtedly exploiting an unease already felt by Segovia's inhabitants, the exact scale of which is difficult to gauge.

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[22] The case of Diego Arias Dávila is particularly exceptional, as he is one of the most successful Conversos in social, political and economic terms, in fifteenth-century Castile. A biography can be found in M.E. Contreras Jiménez, "Diego Arias Dávila en la tradición y en la historia," *Anuario de Estudios Medievales*, 15 (1985), pp. 475–495. On his son, Bishop Juan, consult my essay, "Juan Arias Dávila, obispo de Segovia (1461–1497)," *Juan Párix, primer impresor en España*, Salamanca, 2004, pp. 203–224. Finally, an interesting biography of Andrés de Cabrera can be found in M.P. Rábade Obradó, *Una elite de poder en la corte de los Reyes Católicos. Los judeoconversos*, Madrid, 1993, pp. 173–226.

[23] D. Enríquez del Castillo *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. C. Rosell, Madrid, 1953, pp. 214–215 [own trans.] The same events are also recorded by Alonso de Palencia, *Crónica de Enrique IV*, ed. A. Paz y Meliá, Madrid, 1973–1975, II, pp. 93–94.

It is evident that in barely a decade there was a gradual increase in the antagonism felt towards Segovia's Conversos, among both the Christian and Jewish communities. This situation can largely be linked to two orders adopted by the Catholic Monarchs in 1480: the separation of Jewish communities and the setting up of the Inquisition. Both initiatives, of the deepest significance, placed Conversos squarely at the centre of a highly complex debate.

At around this date, it would appear that Segovia's ecclesiastical authorities took a renewed interest in the Jewish community. A testimony from the mid-sixteenth century informs us that "when there were Jews in this city, which was before 1492, on Ash Wednesday, the Jews and Moors had to gather in St Michael's Square and a sermon was preached to them beside St Michael's Church; there was no other sermon in the whole city."[24] In addition to this active policy of promoting conversions, other opposing positions can be found, such as the one held by Fray Antonio de la Peña, a Dominican friar at the Segovian Monastery of Santa Cruz, who, in 1485, preached inflammatory sermons in the city, proposing that Jewish inhabitants be unceremoniously expelled.[25]

A clash between the Converso Juan de Talavera and the powerful Jewish rabbi Abraham Seneor, which took place between 1484 and 1485, offers a glimpse of the fierce tensions that existed between Segovian Jews and those who had apostatized from their religion.[26] The origin of the conflict was the complaint lodged by Juan de Talavera before the royal justice against Seneor, higher judge of the *aljama*s, and against Jacob Cachopo, procurator general of the *aljamas*, alleging that they had demanded more money from the Jewish communities than was due in taxes and that they had unlawfully appropriated part of the amount collected. The exact terms on which the suit ended are unknown, but Abraham Seneor successfully eluded the serious charges leveled against him.[27]

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[24] J.A. Ruiz Hernando, *Garci Ruiz de Castro. Comentario sobre la primera y segunda población de Segovia*, Segovia, 1988, cap. 3, p. 5 [own trans.].

[25] Asenjo González, *Segovia*, pp. 327–328.

[26] This action has been analyzed by Y. Moreno Koch, "La comunidad judía de Segovia y las consecuencias de una conversión al cristianismo: 1485–1486", *Estudios Mirandeses*, 8 (1988), pp. 101–109.

[27] On 19 December 1485, it is recorded that Abraham Seneor accused Juan de Talavera of witchcraft, undoubtedly intending to divert him from the lawsuit in which they were involved. It cannot be ruled out that Seneor may have made this accusation before the Inquisition, which, at that point, had just embarked on its activities in Segovia.

Among the allegations covered in the action are two that indicate the difficult and dangerous situation in which Conversos could find themselves after baptism.[28] Firstly, Juan de Talavera denounces the fact that, although he had been appointed senior scrivener to the court and distributor to the *aljamas*, he could not carry out this duty, because the Jews prevented him from so doing, alleging "that he lost the right he had and used to have." Moreover, Yuce Talaveri, Juan's Jewish brother, complained that it was the intention of some Jews "to do all the harm they could" to his brother and expressed his fear that they might kill him, as had occurred with other Conversos. The tricky case of Juan de Talavera, which I consider exceptional, demonstrates that, in particular circumstances, conversions could lead to conflicts of interest that were hard to resolve, creating a climate of violence around the Converso in question and his family and personal circle.

The Inquisition in Segovia and the Case against the Arias Dávila Family

The Inquisition, approved by Sixtus IV in 1478 at the behest of the Catholic Monarchs and implemented by them two years later in Seville, reached Segovia in 1486 at the request of its Bishop, Juan Arias Dávila.[29] Until that point, we have no record of any religious practices among Segovia's Conversos which had warranted the attention of the city's ecclesiastical authorities. The only precedent was the denunciation made by Fray Alonso de Espina in his famous *Fortalitium Fidei*. In this treatise, the Franciscan friar indicated that in 1459 in Segovia, he had seen Conversos celebrating Sukkot, or "festum tabernaculorum," from the door of the synagogue.[30]

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[28] Moreno Koch, *La comunidad*, pp. 103 and 105.

[29] The bishop's intervention in the Inquisition's arrival in Segovia is surprising in view of the personal and family consequences he suffered once it was established in the city, but there is no doubt that he was instrumental in doing so. Indeed, in 1487 Fray Alonso Enríquez declared that he had heard Juan López say: "I, Juan López, spoke to the Bishop when we were told that the Bishop had brought the Inquisition to this city and I said: You sire, bring the Inquisition here, but I swear to God that this will be the unmaking of your father and mother and relatives, because you know I lived with them and I know a thing or two about them, as do so-and-so and so-and-so" [own trans.], Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes*, no. 79, p. 50.

[30] A. de Espina, *Fortalitium Fidei contra iudeos sarracenos aliosque christiane fidei inimicos*, Lyon, 1511, f. 77 r–v.

The Inquisition tribunal in Segovia, one of the first to be set up in Castile, must have been created towards the end of 1485 or at the beginning of the following year, as the first known action of the inquisitors dates from 17 January 1486.[31] The tribunal's jurisdiction covered the whole diocese of Segovia and also, at least, the vast territory of the city of Segovia located to the south of the Guadarrama mountains, which, for ecclesiastical purposes, did not belong to the diocese of Segovia but to the archbishopric of Toledo.[32] From an unspecified date and until 1494, the district court was held in a house in Segovia beside the San Juan Gate, which the inquisitors rented from Francisco de Cáceres.[33] In 1499, thirteen years after its creation, the Segovian district embarked on a brief period of mergers with other inquisitorial demarcations. This reorganization process was completed in 1507, and Segovian territory was definitively included in the extensive district of Valladolid, to which it belonged until the Inquisition was abolished in the nineteenth century.[34]

Unfortunately, the records of the Segovian tribunal—which could have shed much light on the Converso situation in the conflictive period that began in 1486—have not been preserved. The papers that do still exist include a list drawn up in 1495 of those condemned to pay fines, another undated list of authorizations that appears to be from the late fifteenth century and a list from 1504 of people condemned for giving false testimony to the Inquisition "in favor of heretics who had been accused and imprisoned, in order to get them released."[35] Together with these docu-

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[31] "It would appear that the first book of notes on the City of Segovia began to be written on Tuesday the seventeenth of January, one thousand, four hundred and eighty-six" [own trans.], Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes*, p. 19.

[32] In 1533, Segovian land to the south of the Guadarrama mountains was separated from the Inquisitorial district of Valladolid and brought under the jurisdiction of the Court of Toledo, J. Contreras and J.P. Dedieu, "Geografía de la Inquisición española: la formación de los distritos (1480–1820)," *Hispania*, 40 (1980) p. 46.

[33] D. de Colmenares, *Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia y compendio de las historias de Castilla*, Segovia, 1637, 34–18, p. 430.

[34] In about September 1499, the district of Ávila merged with that of Segovia. At some point between September 1499 and mid-1502, the district comprising Segovia and Ávila absorbed the district of Salamanca. This concentration process continued when, between mid-1502 and mid-1503, the district comprising Segovia, Ávila and Salamanca was joined to that composed of Palencia and Burgos. The unification of these demarcations was finally consolidated in 1507 with the creation of the Inquisitorial district of Valladolid, the largest in the Peninsula, Contreras and Dedieu, *Geografía*, pp. 83–84 and 89–90.

[35] Asenjo González, *Segovia*, pp. 618–619, 657–658 and 684–688 [own trans.] On monetary penalties and habilitation in the context of the Inquisition, see, J. Meseguer Fernández, "El período fundacional (1478–1517)," J. Pérez Villanueva, B. Escandell Bonet, dirs., *Historia de la Inquisición en España y América. I. El conocimiento científico y el proceso histórico de la institución (1478–1834)*, Madrid, 1984, pp. 398–400.

ments are a number of regulations adopted by royal officials regarding goods confiscated from some of the defendants.[36]

The exception to this general lack of documentation comes in the shape of the cases brought by Segovia's tribunal of the Inquisition against three members of the Arias Dávila family, the most prominent cases in the history of Segovia Inquisition.[37] The first part of the record related to these trials contains 231 testimonies, collected by the Inquisition between 1486 and 1492. These testimonies do not form part of any trial documentation, but were copied from the *libros* (record books) of Segovia's Inquisition tribunal.[38] The majority of the accusations concern members of the Arias family, although some seventy refer to other inhabitants of the city. Such is the importance of these testimonies that they remains the major source of research for Segovia's Converso community in the late Middle Ages and also provide an enlightening perspective on social life in the city in the second half of the fifteenth century.[39]

The inquisitors began gathering evidence against the Arias Dávila soon after the tribunal was established.[40] Between 1486 and 1489, as part of a widespread action in the city and diocese, the Inquisition officials collected about two hundred complaints against different members of the family. The first evidence that the inquisitors were beginning to analyse these accusations comes two years after the first testimonies, on 29 January 1488, when the tribunal asked two of the witnesses to confirm their statements. These were followed by five more witness confirmations between 18 and 30 May 1489, made as the prosecutor was finalizing his

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[36] Asenjo González, *Segovia*, pp. 333–334.

[37] Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), inquisición, leg. 1.413, nº 7. The files were published in an exemplary manner by C. Carrete Parrondo in the aforesaid *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae. III. Proceso inquisitorial contra los Arias Dávila segovianos: un enfrentamiento social entre judíos y conversos*, Salamanca, 1986.

[38] Initially 224 testimonies were found in the Segovia tribunal's record books. Later six testimonies were discovered in the records of the Avila Inquisition tribunal, and finally one testimony in the records of the Zaragoza tribunal. See Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes*, no. 1–224, pp. 19–117 (Segovia); no. 225–230, pp. 117–120 (Ávila); and no. 231, pp. 120–123 (Zaragoza).

[39] The testimonies are analysed in E. Gutwirth, "Elementos étnicos e históricos en las relaciones judeo-conversas en Segovia," in Y. Kaplan ed., *Jews and Conversos. Studies in Society and the Inquisition. Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 16–21, 1981*, Jerusalem, 1985, pp. 83–102; and in D.M. Gitlitz, *The Arias Davila Family of Segovia. Between the Synagogue and the Church*, San Francisco-London-Bethesda, 1995.

[40] I examine the political and diplomatic implications of these trials in "El obispo segoviano Juan Arias Dávila y la Inquisición: una revisión del conflicto y tres documentos inéditos de 1490," which forms part of a tribute to Monsignor José Luis González Novalín by the Iglesia Nacional Española de Roma (in press).

trial preparations. The trials finally got under way on 7 July 1489, with prosecutor bringing accusations against Diego Arias Dávila, his second wife Elvira González, and her mother Catalina González, all of whom were long deceased.[41]

After being formally acquainted with the accusations, the Bishop of Segovia, Juan Arias Dávila, son and grandson of the accused, took a series of steps to seek to block the proceedings. One of the first was to apply to the monarchs for the disqualification of the inquisitors in charge of the cases, which was accepted. At the same time, he appealed to Pope Innocent VIII to take charge of the proceedings. In view of the monarchy's refusal to refer the cases to the jurisdiction of Rome, Juan Arias went to the Pope in March of 1490 in order to submit his case in person and seek the support of the Holy See. The diplomatic and political conflict created could not, of course, be resolved by a single individual, and in 1497 the Bishop died without settling the case. It seems, however, that he did succeed in protecting his family; at least there is no record of any ruling against the three accused, which leads me to assume that the trials were suspended at some point and never concluded.

The Inquisition investigation into the Arias Dávilas was a paradigmatic case based on the rivalry between the episcopate and a crown institution that had existed barely a decade and was asserting its authority over the traditional jurisdiction of the bishops in matters of faith. Juan Arias Dávila's attempt to challenge Tomás de Torquemada was an attempt to take power away from an Inquisition that still lacked the undisputed authority it would, over time, attain.

It is also likely that the strictly institutional antagonism that existed between Segovia's Episcopal authority and the Inquisition was exacerbated by the personal enmity between the heads of these two respective bodies, Juan Arias Dávila and Tomás de Torquemada. Their rivalry predated the start of the proceedings and may have originated in one of several places: in Segovia, where both had lived for many years, one as bishop and the other as prior of the Santa Cruz monastery; in the Court, where Juan Arias was a member of the Royal Council and Tomás Royal Confessor; or in their own characters, as both were complex and ambitious individuals who belonged to virtually the same generation, but had very different projects and views regarding the lot that had fallen to them.

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[41] Elvira had died in 1463, Diego in 1466. We do not know the date of Catalina's death; it had occurred, however, some years before the trial began.

Finally, the case brought against the Arias Dávila caused considerable unrest in Segovia. The privileged situation that Diego Arias and his descendents had achieved and the influence they wielded in the city meant that the investigations into the family's behavior had a significant effect on Segovian society as whole. Moreover, the proceedings acted as a catalyst for all the political, religious and social tension that had accumulated in the city since the middle of the century.

The Expulsion of the Jews and the Last Conversions

The Inquisition's arrival in Segovia marked a turning point in the development of the city's Converso community. From 1486 onwards, Conversos had serious reason to be worried about their past, present and future attitudes, given that any of these, however innocent, might cause grave difficulties to both themselves and their families. The fervor with which the Inquisition acted in the city left no room for doubt, for, were there sufficient evidence, even the dead could be subjected to the sentence and punishment applicable.[42]

The existence of a large Jewish community in Segovia made it difficult, if not impossible, for many Conversos to break with the family and emotional ties that united them. This understandably placed Conversos in an extremely awkward position. Something as natural as honoring a dead sister became a suspicious and reprehensible act if the bereaved were a Christian and the dead sibling a Jew.[43] Likewise, as we have seen, for some Conversos, the city's synagogues were an inevitable focal point for the key festivities in the Jewish calendar. This daily co-existence among Jews and Conversos, so characteristic of medieval Castilian society, came to an abrupt and unexpected end in 1492, when the Catholic Monarchs decided that all Jews must either convert to Christianity or leave the kingdom.

The situation faced by Jews in Segovia throughout the three months laid down in the edict was extremely delicate. It could not have been otherwise, in view of the dilemma posed: Jews either sold up all their assets and

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[42] In 1490, for instance, the Catholic Monarchs donated to the Marchioness of Moya, Beatriz de Bobadilla, all the property that had belonged to Segovian Juan González de Nieva and his wife Aldonza González, condemned by the Inquisition, whose bones had been dug up and burned. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, clero, diversos, concejos y ciudades, leg. 202.

[43] Carrete Parrondo, *Fontes*, no. 5, p. 20.

faced an uncertain future, or they renounced their beliefs and customs in order to be able to remain in the city. A century later, local historian Diego de Colmenares recounts a tale, probably drawn from oral tradition, which states that once the deadline given by the monarchy had expired:

> Some people in our city, both religious and secular, keen to save those souls, took advantage of this good opportunity to preach conversion to them, warning them about their blind incredulity in the light of the evidence of so many centuries and disasters. Some converted and were baptized, thereby giving the Holy Meadow the name by which it is still known because of this occurrence; the remainder left the kingdom.[44]

The most prominent of all the conversions that took place in 1492, not only in Segovia but all over the kingdom, was that of the old financier Abraham Seneor, who took the name of Fernán Pérez Coronel. The public significance of his baptism, which took place in the Monastery of Guadalupe, with Ferdinand and Isabella among the sponsors, was due to the fact that at that time he was the chief rabbi and could therefore be considered the political and administrative head of Castile's Jewish community.

The expiry of the deadline set in the expulsion decree did not put an end to Jewish conversions, since some of those who had abandoned the kingdom eventually decided to return from exile in an ebb tide that lasted until 1499.[45] The return of these people confused the situation still further, because the economic and property claims then lodged gave rise to a never-ending list of lawsuits. In Segovia, one of the most prominent members of this wave of Conversos was financier Jacob Galfón, baptized Pedro Suárez de la Concha, who, on 20 November 1492, obtained safe passage from the Catholic Monarchs to return to Castile from Portugal.[46]

An exceptional document from 1510 goes a long way to compensating for the scant quantity of information about Segovia's Conversos in the Middle Ages.[47] This was the year in which the Bishop of Segovia ordered his parish priests to draw up a list of parishioners who had converted from Judaism and Islam. This order was probably related to the mandate issued by Inquisitor General Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, which required

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[44] Colmenares, *Historia*, 35–9, p. 438 [own trans.].

[45] L. Suárez Fernández, "El máximo religioso"; M. Fernández Álvarez, *La España de los Reyes Católicos (1474–1516)*; J.M. Jover Zamora (Dir.), *Historia de España*, 17 (2), 4ª ed., Madrid, 1990, pp. 261–262.

[46] This case has been studied by Y. Moreno Koch, "De la diáspora hacia Sefarad: ¿la primera carta de regreso de un judío convertido?", *Michael*, 11 (1989), pp. 257–265.

[47] M. Bataillon, "Les nouveaux chrétiens de Ségovie en 1510", *Bulletin Hispanique*, 58 (1956), pp. 207–231. The article was republished in *Estudios Segovianos*, 10 (1958), pp. 393–428.

Conversos to learn the doctrine, abide by their religious obligations, and provide annual evidence to the inquisitors that they had complied with both demands.[48] The 1510 census reveals that there were 788 Conversos, in 209 families. Although these Conversos were divided among twelve of the city's parishes, most of them, namely 170 families, lived in the adjoining neighborhoods of San Miguel and San Andrés, in the heart of the walled city.[49]

The 1492 conversions in Segovia brought an end to the cultural and human interchange that had taken place between the Jewish and Christian worlds for the best part of three centuries. As the Inquisition entered the city, the last Conversos could only look on, in the knowledge that everything—from their baptism to their public and private acts—would be carefully scrutinized. Consequently, the openly Judaizing practices recorded throughout the fifteenth century were not repeated, nor is there any record of subsequent actions in Segovia. At the same time, from 1492 onwards, Segovia's Conversos lost their direct contact with the Jewish society from which they came. The natural disappearance of these last converts, in the course of the sixteenth century, meant a final and definitive rupture in the direct relations which the Conversos had maintained with Judaism throughout the Middle Ages. From that point on, even those most keenly aware of their Jewish roots could hear no more than a distant echo of a past reality.

[48] Meseguer Fernández, *El período*, p. 358.

[49] The information provided by the census has been analyzed by Asenjo González, *Segovia*, pp. 335–336.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CANARY MORISCOS: A DIFFERENT REALITY*

Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández**

The Differences

Canary Moriscos differed from their counterparts on the Spanish peninsular in three essential ways. The first of these differences was their origin, as, rather than descending from the Hispano-Muslim population, they came to the Canaries either under duress, or in some, though fewer, cases voluntarily, from the neighboring coast, from Tagaos to the Senegal River. Secondly, they were at their own request the only exceptions to the 1609 expulsion, as a result of a petition that was endorsed by Canary witnesses and authorities. Finally, after petitioning the Crown in 1615, the Moriscos of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura won the right to be called *naturales* rather than Moriscos and gained access to trades that had previously been reserved for Old Christians.

Other aspects also distinguished them, in particular their closer degree of integration, as revealed by the proportion of mixed marriages. Among the 4,986 Moriscos in Cuenca, there were only fifty such unions; among the 8,336 in Old Castile just 89; in Extremadura four out of 14,428; and in Segovia fifteen of 1,094. Of the approximately 150 Morisco families in Lanzarote in the early seventeenth century, however, there were more than twenty such marriages.[1] Proof of the fact that they were considered to be more closely integrated than those in the peninsula is that as of 1589 they were to form two trained bands to defend the easternmost islands from foreign attack, including attacks from the Berbers. They were also the only Hispanic Moriscos allowed to have slaves and never forced to wear

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** Translated by Nicola Stapleton.

[1] Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández, "La cuantificación de los moriscos canarios a través del cómputo inquisitorial de 1595," in *Felipe II y su tiempo*, Cádiz, 1999, p. 403.

distinguishing marks. Likewise, black and Morisco slaves were permitted to be trade apprentices, unlike their counterparts on the peninsula.[2]

Beginnings

Between 1402 and 1405, the islands of Lanzarote, Fuerteventura and El Hierro were conquered by the French, under the leadership of Jean de Bethencourt. After a series of transfers and sales, they subsequently passed to Inés Peraza and Diego García de Herrera, members of the minor nobility in Seville, who were also given nominal sovereignty over the rest of the archipelago which had remained unconquered. The main economic activity in the two easternmost islands, Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, was livestock farming, with some arable agriculture, primarily involving cereals and the exportation of archil lichen, used in dyes. From the mid-fifteenth to the late-sixteenth centuries, however, their main activity was undoubtedly the slave trade, which was directed against the unconquered islands and African coastal neighbors. The Treaty of Alcáçovas (September 4, 1479) recognized the rights of Portugal to the Kingdom of Fez, the Atlantic islands and Guinea, in return for accepting Castilian dominion of the Canaries. Castile was also granted fishing rights from Cape Bojador to the River d'Ouro, whereas the area between Fez and Guinea—which Rumeu calls Western Africa—in which the Canary Islanders fished, was not mentioned. The discovery of America called for a review of this agreement, which resulted in the Treaty of Tordesillas (June 7, 1494), in which the Atlantic was divided up and limits in Africa agreed upon. The area between Cape Ghir and Messa was provisionally assigned to Portugal, until a commission could arbitrate on a definitive solution. Fishing was prohibited to the south of Cape Bojador, although the Castilians gained the right to "hold up Moors from the coast of that sea wherever they are usually found (from Bojador to River d'Ouro) and ships of Their Majesties' subjects have sailed as far as there to do so." Finally, the Treaty of Sintra (September 18, 1509) recognized Portuguese dominion as far as Bojador, with the exception of the Fort of Mar Pequeña, although it was accepted

[2] Manuel Lobo Cabrera, "Las Palmas en el siglo XVI: una ciudad de artesanos," *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, Las Palmas, 2008, p. 13.

that the Castilians could fish, hold up other vessels and trade to the north of Bojador.[3] These limits were not, however, always respected.

After what was known as the Pesquisa of Cabitos (1477), the three unconquered islands were handed to the Crown, which immediately proceeded to occupy them. Gran Canaria was occupied between 1478 and 1483, La Palma in 1493 and Tenerife between 1494 and 1496. The Castilian Crown's interest in the islands revolved around their strategic position facing Africa and subsequently, after 1492, facing America. It was therefore necessary to populate the islands in order to guarantee their defense, particularly given that a large number of indigenous people had died or been enslaved on the Peninsula. This settlement process did not prove an easy one, for two main reasons: the repopulation of Granada, which had been taking place since 1492, and the conquest and colonization of America, which had occurred the same year, before that of La Palma and Tenerife. This meant that potential emigrants from the peninsula were diverted to Granada and the Indies instead. Consequently, foreigners from other European countries, Conversos and Moriscos were permitted to settle in the Canaries, but prohibited from doing so in the Indies. This settlement requirement is one of the explanations for the presence of Moriscos on the islands, while the benefits derived from the slave trade and the opportunity to exploit this free labor were obviously a welcome bonus.

The initial, merely predatory, activities in Africa were to change in 1496, when the Crown ordered the rebuilding of the Torre de Santa Cruz de Mar Pequeña, a tower built by Diego García de Herrera and destroyed by the indigenous peoples. Alonso Fernández de Lugo, conquistador and governor-for-life of La Palma and Tenerife, was to take charge of achieving a permanent Castilian presence in the area. To do so, he was to negotiate the submission of a series of local tribes, who theoretically would then recognize the authority of the Catholic Monarchs. He also had plans to build a number of fortresses, which ultimately came to nothing, for various reasons. The first of these was indigenous resistance. Second, the Portuguese put pressure on the Castilians not to settle in this area, which they considered to be under their sovereignty, and they had no hesitation in seizing Castilian ships that frequented it.[4] Finally, the colonization

[3] Antonio Rumeu de Armas, *España en el África Atlántica.*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2006, vol. I, pp. 161–168, 230–241, 524–530.

[4] In 1516, the King of Portugal protested to Castile about a fortress the Canary islanders were building in Barbary, and about the *cabalgadas* against Axiel and Guinea. See Eduardo Aznar Vallejo, *Documentos canarios en el Registro del Sello (1476–1517)*, La Laguna, Tenerife,

of America was to divert Castilian attention away from Africa, ultimately causing a return to predatory activity, to the detriment of permanent settlement.

Some of the Moriscos came to the islands voluntarily, after negotiating settlement with the royal authorities, and in particular with the nobility of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura. In return, they agreed to convert to Christianity, although they would remain free.[5] They were much smaller in number than those who had been captured, but nevertheless still accounted for a high percentage, as shown by the royal warrant issued by the Catholic Monarchs in 1501, ordering the enslavement of those who had come voluntarily but had no royal license. Nor was it to be the only order of this kind.[6]

The remainder were brought by force, captured in the slaving expeditions known as *cabalgadas*. These raids were organized by one or more partners providing the capital to hire ships and pay the sailors and participants, as well as food and any other necessary victuals. Among the key members of these raiding parties were the *adalides*, Moriscos who knew the local area and scoured it for the *douars* they would then attack. To accomplish this task, Moriscos who had come to the islands of their own accord were preferred, as they were generally more trustworthy. However, some of those hired had been enslaved but had then converted to Christianity. Even so, the Morisco *adalides* were usually accompanied by Canary islanders to prevent them from escaping to warn their fellow countrymen, which was not an infrequent occurrence. The profits from a successful *cabalgada* were of the greatest importance, as most of its participants were paid according to the number of prisoners captured. The price of two or three slaves would pay for the costs of the ship and the sailors' wages, while the booty would be used to pay most of the troops. Moreover, in 1527, the Crown ceded its *Quinto* or Royal Fifth, the share it demanded of the profits, whilst the nobility of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura exempted the organizers from the Fifth payable to them for the goods carried, although they were rewarded from the booty obtained.

1981, no. 1151. In 1520, Emperor Charles V wrote to the Council of Tenerife asking for detailed reports on the capture of Canary islanders by the Portuguese when on *cabalgada* or fishing in Barbary. They were subsequently exiled to the Islas Perdidas. See: A.M.L.L., Cuaderno de Reales Cédulas. Produced by Antonio de Vallejo. Subsequent treaties between the two countries were to diminish the area of Castilian influence in Barbary.

[5] Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández, "Las pateras del siglo XVI. Los emigrantes voluntarios de la Berbería," *XV Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2002.

[6] Antonio Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., vol. II, p. 135.

Once captive in the Canaries, prisoners with economic resources were usually rescued. A trustworthy Morisco would travel to Barbary to negotiate the release with the family. These mediators were often women, probably as a precaution. Needless to say they were hated by the Berbers, who considered them traitors, and they were therefore often attacked,[7] as were the *adalides*.[8]

After the emissaries had agreed on their captive's price, they were sent on a rescue mission, and the person in question was usually exchanged for black slaves, or in some cases for amber or livestock. One Morisco was usually handed over in exchange for two black Africans, although if the captive were of higher status, the number increased accordingly.[9] In 1566, in a letter addressed to the Council of the Inquisition, Agustín de Herrera, Lord of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura stated that: "for every Moor I rescue, they give me 10, 11, 15, 20, 30, 40 or 50 black slaves. . . ."[10] This operation was often combined with trade, with the islands exporting clothes, cereal, honey, sugar and other products, in exchange for black slaves, amber, carpets and so forth. The only prohibition regarding rescue missions involved children, although even this was not free of controversy and was also not always met. In 1555, the Council of the Inquisition replied to an enquiry made by the Canary Inquisitor, Luis de Padilla, on this very subject, issuing the following order: "where Moorish children are concerned, under sevens should not be rescued and if any persons should try to persuade them not to become Christians, action must be taken against them."[11] However, as we have already seen, this prohibition was not always complied with, especially when the child came from a wealthy family which might be

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[7] A Morisco called Alonso de Fátima was tried by the Inquisition in 1511 for converting to Islam in Barbary. He justified his actions saying that "the Moors think that if they kill a Christian, they save their soul, but if they kill a turncoat Christian (who has converted to Christianity), they save it seven times." Archivo Museo Canario (A.M.C.), Inquisición, legajo CXIII-4.

[8] In 1584, a Morisco from Tenerife called Pedro López was denounced to the Inquisition because of a reference he made to the *adalides* when asked when and where he was captured. Having answered that he had been taken prisoner about 60 years ago in Cape Ghir, he added that *if it hadn't been for those sly dogs, they wouldn't have captured him*. A.M.C., Inqui. CXLII-1. In 1557, a Morisco from Palma called Juan Alonso was denounced for saying that the *adalides* who imprisoned their own kinsfolk should come to a bad end. A.M.C., Inqui. Leg. CXVII-16.

[9] However, they did not always need to be rich. Francisco Buxama, tried by the Inquisition in 1532, declared that he had gone to Barbary to rescue his wife in exchange for five slaves. As he was not a wealthy man, the captives must have been the result of a lucky *cabalgada* which he had accompanied as an *adalid* or the result of a ransom. Archivo Museo Canario, Inquisición, legajo LVIII-10.

[10] Archivo Histórico Nacional (A.H.N.), Inquisición, leg. 4520, no. 6.

[11] A.H.N., Inqui., Libro 575, Libro 4º. de Castilla (1547–1567).

expected to pay a good ransom. In 1550, the same inquisitor interrogated a child of eight, called Yusuf, who claimed that he did not want to be rescued and wished to become a Christian, but that his owner, the *regidor* Bernardino de Lezcano, refused to let him and threatened him that he should not be christened.[12] Moreover, it is suspected that this was a widespread practice, since, in the aforementioned letter to the Council of the Inquisition, the Lord of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura openly declared that: "*often* for any child of a rich Moor, they bring ten or eleven black slaves who convert to Christianity. . . ." Padilla once again denounced this state of affairs to the Council of the Inquisition in 1561, explaining that, although children could not be taken for ransom and their owners were required to indoctrinate them in the Catholic faith, these owners did not obey, preferring instead to "let them grow up so that once they were adults, they could protest and declare that they would not become Christians."[13]

On 14 February 1572, Philip II issued a royal warrant prohibiting *cabalgadas* from the Canaries to Barbary. The reasons he gave for this decision were firstly the risk it entailed for the participants and secondly the "considerable inconvenience for our service."[14] In contrast to the traditional theory that explains the adoption of this measure as a way to avoid provoking the Berbers, who had invaded Lanzarote in 1569 and 1571, the primary cause may well have been a desire to negotiate with the Moroccan sovereign and to prevent him from being further weakened against the Turks, who were a far more dangerous enemy. However, the economic setback this posed for the islands led the *cabildo* of Gran Canaria to ask the Monarch for the reinstatement of the *cabalgadas*, which was finally granted on 27 January 1579. The royal warrant authorized two raids, arguing that this was to palliate the shortage of labor in the sugar mills and vineyards, but specifically stating that these were to be conducted from "below Sant Bartolomé, and that these, and the places where the raids and attacks were carried out, should affect neither subjects nor allies of Xarife." The warrant went on to explain that the Azanegues and Alarabes in the area were unarmed and did not defend themselves, an argument that must have been wielded by the *cabildo*, but which was actually contradicted by reality, since a further two *cabalgadas* were conducted in 1584 by Antonio Lorenzo and Don Gonzalo de Saavedra which were not successful. In the first of these, nobody was captured at all, whilst the second, despite

[12] A.M.C., Inqui., leg. CXXIX-2.
[13] A.H.N., Inqui., leg. 2364.
[14] Antonio Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., vol. II, 353–354.

capturing 27 indigenous islanders, resulted in the loss of seven expeditionaries, who were taken prisoner.[15] Although the raids ceased in the last decade of the sixteenth century, the Tenerife council petitioned Philip III for their resumption. In a warrant dated August 15, 1603, the king asked the island's governor about the advisability of agreeing to this proposal. The response was positive, but as a peace deal had been made with Morocco, only rescue missions and not *cabalgadas* were permitted.[16] Proof that this prohibition was implemented can be found in the proceedings brought against the governor of Fuerteventura, Francisco Morales Perdomo, and other island residents accused of an illegal *cabalgada* in 1611.[17]

Flight

The only valid alternative to returning to their native country, apart from rescue, was flight.[18] There were two possible escape routes: the first was to flee during a *cabalgada* or rescue mission, and then remain in Barbary, which was not infrequent. This was what happened to Juan de Tirma, who on a mission as an *adalid*, warned his relatives about the presence of the Canary islanders and even fought against them. His misfortune was to be captured afterwards and to be hanged by the Royal Justice in 1554.[19] The following year, Mateo de Miranda followed in his footsteps, as did Luis de Cabreja in 1558, and others.[20]

The second potential escape route was to seize a ship, if possible taking the sailors captive too, so that they could navigate the fugitives to Barbary. In 1531, twelve black and Morisco slaves were tried for attempting to escape from Gran Canaria, and the following year, nine more from Lanzarote went on trial for the same offence.[21] One of the escapes that made a particular impression in the archipelago was that of a Lanzarote Morisco called Juan Felipe, who claimed to be going on a pilgrimage to the shrine

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15 Antonio Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., t. II, 356–357.

16 Antonio Rumeu de Armas, op. cit., t. II, p.p. 357–358. Alejandro Cioranescu, *Historia de Santa Cruz de Tenerife*, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1977, t. II, 453, note 181.

17 Archivo Acialcazar, leg. Berbería.

18 Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández, "Huidas de esclavos desde Canarias a Berbería en la primera mitad del siglo XVI," *XIV C.H.C.A.*, Las Palmas, 2002, pp. 849–858. Also "Huidas de esclavos desde Canarias a Berbería en la segunda mitad del siglo XVI," *Primer Congreso Hispano-Africano de las culturas mediterráneos*, Melilla, 1984, pp. 325–332.

19 Archivo Acialcazar, leg. Berbería.

20 A.M.C., Inqui., CXLIII-21 and CXII-13.

21 A.M.C., Inqui., leg. CXXXI-13 and CXVII-17.

of Our Lady of Candelaria, but in fact fled to Barbary with 32 others. His flight caused astonishment because he was actually a rich man (five of the fugitives were his own slaves), and his family had been in Lanzarote for generations.[22] Flight sometimes failed, not only because the fugitives were captured, but also because the boats sank.[23]

On occasions, runaways were helped by Old Christians, either for money or for other reasons. In 1532, a sailor called Juan Franco Bayador was hanged because he urged a group of slaves to flee with him to Barbary, where he had been captive.[24] For his part, a Morisco called Bartolomé explained to inquisitor Padilla that, on one occasion, he had tried to escape in a boat steered by a Galician who drowned when the vessel capsized. He also tried a second time with a "one-eyed Christian," who was hanged when the attempt failed.[25]

Those who remained captive on the islands sooner or later converted to Christianity, often under pressure from their owners. Slavery is obviously not possible without physical or psychological coercion, and both in the Canaries and in other places where this institution existed, slaves were mistreated. In an article on this subject, Dr Fajardo Spínola lists the reasons for punishment by slave-owners in fourteen cases contained in Inquisition trials: eight for escaping, four for theft and two for inebriation. The penalty was whipping which, in some of the cases described, ended with the death of the captive.[26] However, in general, owners tried not to cause any injury that might prevent their slaves from working, even less to kill them, as they were a valuable possession. Of course, there were always exceptions: one former Canary captive in Algiers summed the subject up well when he explained that it was also the owner's character that played a part. Granadan renegade Francisco Gaspar declared before the inquisitor that he had had his hand marked for trying to escape on two occasions. This was a practice also seen elsewhere.[27] The same occurred in the Canaries, where slaves who failed in their attempts to escape had their face branded.

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[22] A.M.C., Bute, vol. III.
[23] A.M.C., Inqui., leg. IV-2.
[24] A.M.C., Inqui., leg. IV-2.
[25] A.M.C., Inqui., leg. XXIII-12.
[26] Francisco Fajardo Spínola, "El maltrato a los esclavos en documentos de la Inquisición canaria," in *Homenaje a Antonio de Bethencourt Massieu*, Las Palmas, 1995, pp. 556–580.
[27] A.M.C., Bute, vol. XIX-2ª serie, f. 128.

Institutional Coercion

The integration of the Moriscos was no easy process, as it was hampered by continuous contacts with Barbary and the arrival of new captives. The suspension of the *cabalgadas* and subsequent rescue missions therefore accelerated their assimilation. The coercive role of the Church, the Court and other civil institutions, in particular the Inquisition, also had a bearing on the situation. The Church supervised the Morisco population by the imposition of spiritual duties, requiring them to attend and take part in religious services. Visiting bishops and judges also controlled their lives, penalizing non-compliance with Christian precepts economically. When Licentiate Bartolomé de Tribaldos visited Lanzarote as *provisor*, or episcopal judge, he fined a number of Moriscos for diverse offences, which included eating meat during Lent, witchcraft, sexual offences, living together, dispatching a sword to Barbary and using their original names. The sanctions consisted of half a *dobla*, one *dobla* or two *doblas* and was sometimes payable in goods, like the fine imposed on Juan Pérez of one *arroba* of oil (11 liters), payable to the Church, for witchcraft.[28]

Moriscos were also monitored by census, although some of these are now lost, such as those carried out prior to 1560 and in 1567.[29] However, a large part of the 1595 census, which the Crown called on the Inquisition to conduct all over Spain, and which the Inquisition in turn entrusted to parish priests, is still preserved. The instructions read as follows: "it is not our intention that this procedure be conducted on those who were of the Morisco race or races, but only on those who are really Moriscos, and are treated, dealt with and considered as such." In other words, there was no need to include the descendents of Moriscos who were more or less integrated, but only those who retained signs of their Morisco identity, such as use of Arabic. In particular, it applied to those captured on the final *cabalgadas* or their immediate descendents, which was 3.6% of the approximately 50,000 inhabitants on the Canary archipelago. They were not, however, evenly distributed throughout the different islands, since whilst on El Hierro, the Inquisition Commissioner reported, there were none, on Lanzarote they made up half of the population, and in

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[28] A.M.C., Inqui., leg. CXXV-8.

[29] José Lavandera López, "Aspectos litúrgicos, administrativos y disciplinares de la Iglesia de Fuerteventura. Siglo XVI. *I Jornadas de Historia de Fuerteventura y Lanzarote*, Puerto del Rosario, 1987, t. I, p. 301. A.M.C., Francisco María de León, *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Canarias*. Mss.

Fuerteventura 14%. It must be remembered here that those already assimilated were not included in the census.[30]

Where the *cabildos* and governors were concerned, their main task was to control public order through the use of bylaws and by implementing justice to prevent escape or theft. For its part, the Court, in addition to its judicial role, was entrusted, alongside the Inquisition, with preventing *algaravía* (Arabic) from being spoken. While the latter institution was the most instrumental in repression, the Canary tribunal was not particularly rigorous in the pursuit of its duties, primarily for socio-economic reasons. In fact, beliefs were not challenged because the tribunal knew they did not constitute a danger. The persecution of possible Judaizers for example, did not reach the same level as in other districts, even though these accounted for nearly 10% of the population.[31] The same was true of the large number of English settlers in the seventeenth century, and likewise the Dutch. The reason lay in the fact that intense persecution of these groups would have harmed the island economy, although this did not prevent some from being tried and even burned at the stake. In the course of the history of the Canary Inquisition, seven Conversos and three Dutch Protestants were to die in this way. On the other hand, the fact that only a few death sentences were handed out did not mean that Inquisitorial control was ineffective. The worst thing about the Inquisition was its duration, for it molded Hispanic conscience over a period of more than three centuries.

Where the Morisco population was concerned, no death sentence was carried out on any individual. Effigies, however, were burned when 97 Moriscos managed to escape or drowned in the attempt. The sentence was intended to terrify any others who may have been contemplating following their example. A further 63 Moriscos were reconciled, which was the second most severe penalty. Forty were required to perform penance, thirteen were absolved and 38 had their trial suspended. In addition to these penalties, fines were imposed and property confiscated. Virtually all the trials took place in the sixteenth century. The 35 who were tried for Mahometanism between 1606 and 1717 were mainly European renegades

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[30] Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández, "La cuantificación de los moriscos canarios a través del cómputo inquisitorial de 1595," *V Reunión Científica de la Asociación de Historia Moderna*, Cádiz, 1999, tomo I, pp. 401–408.

[31] Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández, *Judeoconversos e Inquisición en las Islas Canarias*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 1996.

or Moriscos who had been expelled, and were then captured when privateering in Canary waters. This implies that, by that stage, the integration process was already consolidated.[32]

Expulsion Attempts

The various attempts to expel the Moriscos to the Peninsula were unsuccessful. The reason for adopting this measure lay in the public order problems of which they were accused, as Tenerife representative Llerena explained: "Have them thrown out of the land because they cannot be shown pity, because they steal and kill on roads and on the paths and in the fields."[33] The petitions fell on deaf ears, except in the case of Gran Canaria, where an expulsion order was issued in 1541, because, according to the *cabildo*: "there are more Berber and black slaves than inhabitants and they are . . . thieves by nature"; as a result of which they all quickly fled.[34] However, the measure did not affect those who were captive or those who had come of their own accord, and therefore it was only a danger to emancipated slaves, who in any case emigrated to other islands and did not therefore leave the archipelago. This attitude was also partially the result of the suspicion with which the growing power of the Chorfas was viewed, especially when they seized Santa Cruz of Cape Ghir from the Portuguese in 1541. It was feared that the Moriscos who fled in the *cabalgadas* or the boats they captured would pass on military information, and those that remained would constitute a fifth column, which would then help the invaders. Rejection of the *other* was also a factor, as were perhaps other work-related reasons. In the aforementioned expulsion from Gran Canaria, those affected blamed the Old Christians who owned camels which they used for transport, because the Moriscos provided the same service at a lower price. There must have been something in this, because on October 23, 1540 the Gran Canarian bylaws on transport proclaimed that, within the space of three days, all emancipated slaves with no known trade or who were not in the pay of a master should leave the island.

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[32] Francisco Fajardo Spínola, *Las víctimas del Santo Oficio*, La Laguna, Tenerife, 2005.

[33] Elías Serra Ráfols and Leopoldo de la Rosa, *Actas del Cabildo de Tenerife*, vol. IV (1518–1525), La Laguna, Tenerife, 1970, acta del 28-7-1525.

[34] Manuel Lobo Cabrera, *La esclavitud en las Canarias orientales en el siglo XVI*, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1982, p. 323.

This, in theory, should not have affected the transporters. However, in the same section of the bylaws, freemen who had been slaves were banned from "working in transportation in this city, unless hired by a master." The argument used was that these were thieves, making their expulsion possible,[35] and would suggest the Moriscos may not have been far wrong in their assumptions.

The situation in Lanzarote, the island with the largest Morisco population, evolved rather differently. As on the Peninsula, the nobility protected them because they were essential as *adalides* and soldiers in the profitable *cabalgadas.* However, in 1572 Philip II prohibited these slave raids, and although later a few more were authorized, they did not prove as profitable as before; as such the Moriscos were no longer indispensable.

Legal Integration

When the Morisco expulsion was ordered, in 1609, the Canary islanders contended that their situation had nothing in common with the state of affairs on the Peninsula. As a result the Crown requested an *Audiencia* (Appeal Court) investigation, and, after examining a large number of favorable testimonies, agreed to exempt the islanders from the decree. Shortly afterwards, in 1615, the Lanzarote Moriscos applied to the Crown to be known instead as *naturales* and to be able "to enter their choice of trade just as good Old Christian men choose theirs." Having interrogated a number of witnesses on this issue, the Court ruled in their favor, and the Moriscos therefore achieved their goal of legal equality.[36]

Reality was rather a different matter, since deeply-rooted prejudice is not quite so easy to erase, all the more so when it benefits the discriminators and enables them to feel superior. Evidence exists to this effect, such as an act passed by the *cabildo* of Fuerteventura, in 1632, by which residents were urged to live in groups of threes as a result of thefts that had occurred. At least one of these people had to be a Berber *natural*, and these Berbers were specifically forbidden to "*live with each other on*

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[35] José Peraza de Ayala, "Los moriscos de Tenerife y acuerdos sobre su expulsión," *Homenaje a Serra Ráfols*, La Laguna, 1970, p. 114, n. 19.

[36] Luis Alberto Anaya Hernández, "Los moriscos de Canarias: de los intentos de expulsión a la integración," in Antonio Bethencourt Massieu ed., *Lecturas de Historia de Canarias*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2006.

penalty of 50 ducats."[37] Given the date, these must have been the Moriscos captured on the final *cabalgadas* of the sixteenth century, or their descendents, who would necessarily be less integrated in the community. In contrast, the order that they should not thus be referred to as Moriscos was respected, nor were they actually accused of being thieves, although the insinuation remained.

This elimination of inequalities, however, clashed headlong with the widespread practice of blood purity tests. In the Canaries, this was not required for political posts, but was a necessity for religious positions, for service to the Inquisition and for travel to the Indies. It mainly affected Conversos, of which there were a larger number and who accounted for 10% of the population in the 1620s. But this was also owing to their superior socio-economic status, which enabled them to aspire to such positions, and made it possible for them to emigrate to the Indies in the first place. It is true, as Professor Márquez Villanueva points out, that inefficacy, carelessness and corruption in the system meant the test could be evaded, leading to a certain amount of tolerance of a kind that we might equate with the definition of Austro-Hungarian absolutism: *Absolutismus gemildert durch Schlamperei.*[38] A witness from Tenerife, interrogated by an inquisitor called Ceniceros in 1605, declared that "it was common practice on the island" for scriveners to give witnesses blood purity tests to sign with the name left blank. Yet, although there is evidence of many falsifications, not everybody could have afforded to do this. After all, where would a poor person have found the means or the connections required to do so and to be able to emigrate to the Indies? The example also demonstrates that the Holy Office pursued those making fraudulent claims and their witnesses. In 1572, the Inquisition published a *Carta Acordada* which authorized the district courts to take action against descendents of those who had been condemned or reconciled who provided false information and those who corroborated it. Between 1576, when the trials began, and 1610, when the last sentence was passed, the Canary court tried 141 people, 45 for fraudulent information and the rest for perjury. Moreover, the Holy Office had an effective instrument to record this falsehood: the Genealogy

[37] Roberto Roldán Verdejo, *Acuerdos del Cabildo de Fuerteventura (1605–1669)*, La Laguna, 1970.

[38] "Absolutism mitigated by sloppiness." Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El problema de los conversos: cuatro puntos cardinales," *Hispania Judaica*, Barcelona, 1980.

Books, a census of Conversos undertaken in the Canaries between 1525 and 1529, which was periodically updated.

Where the Moriscos were concerned, we are acquainted with several cases in which purity was denied, such as in that of Felipe Machado, who, in 1656, aspired to a commissionship which he was refused for being the great-great grandson of Catalina Gallegos, who was popularly considered a Morisca. Three years later, Miguel de Franchy was removed from his post as *alguacil* and fined 50 ducats for marrying Ana Machado Spínola, a suspected Morisca.[39] However, there were fewer cases than there were for Conversos. In Lanzarote, where Morisco descendents made up at least half the population, the island's Commissioner, Fray Marcos de Betancor, wrote to the Canary inquisitors in 1663 that many Moriscos falsified the blood purity tests to obtain a religious position, because they were of the view that bearing false witness in order to become a priest was of no consequence, because "it was a great service to God and does not compromise the honor or estate of anyone, and as there are many of them, some of whom are powerful, they all help each other out."[40] The Court, however, did not proceed against those who were denounced. This may have been for one of several reasons: they may have received other information accusing the Commissioner of enmity with some of the accused; they may have felt that a desire to become a priest was indicative that the person in question was fully integrated into the community; or it may have been out of respect for the royal warrant issued by Philip III.

Deeply-rooted prejudice takes time to remove; hence, the suspicion and contempt felt towards Moriscos and Conversos survived long after they ceased to exist as a group. In 1725, when the Tenerife Moriscos were totally integrated, the Mayor of Icod published a *pasquinade* against the city's Commissioner, accusing him in verse of being descended from Moriscos:

> Aunque más abonos haga
> morisco siempre ha de ser
> que esa raza no se acaba,
> por más que el tiempo la lava
> más vuelve a reverdecer.
>
> [More payments he may well have made
> But Morisco he has stayed

[39] A.M.C., Inqui., leg. LXXVIII-2, fols. 177v. a 298.
[40] A.M.C., Inqui., LXXXIX-4, f. 60.

To this race there is no end
Time may have cleaned it, but you can depend
Its shoots will always grow back again]

Morisco Contributions

Morisco contributions to Canary culture are few and far between, as is also the case with the Conversos, as both Jewish and Islamic cultural display was banned. Such contributions remain primarily in the island vocabulary, by which I refer specifically to Canary Arabisms, as opposed to the many Arabic words in the Spanish language as a whole. The most common references are in place-names, and in Gran Canaria alone Professor Trapero mentions about twenty, which include *Barranco del Moro* and *Granja de los Moriscos*. In the city of Telde, where in 1595, 5% of its inhabitants were Moriscos, there is a neighborhood called Barbería, although its original name was Berbería (as in Barbary). Canary expressions, particularly in Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, include words like *majalulo* for a young camel which has not yet reached reproductive age (from the Arabic word 'majlul'), *téfana* for the knee of the camel's back legs (from the Berber word 'ttéfne'), *fuche* for the cry a camel makes when kneeling (from the Arabic 'wets'), *arife* for very hot air (from the Arabic 'irife'), *tabique* for the whey in curdled milk (from the Arabic word 'tabik'), *hubara* for bustard (from the Arabic word 'hubara'), *gume*, go, as in "go to the *jaima*" (from the Arabic 'qum') etc. Two aspects of this vocabulary are worth mentioning. Firstly, a large number of words are from Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, indicating the importance of Morisco presence on both islands, which was indeed much higher than on the rest of the archipelago. Moreover, of these seven words, four are connected with livestock, which suggests this was the activity in which they were engaged, at least when they arrived from Barbary, although their descendents were to become arable farmers.

Finally, the dromedary also came from this neighboring country. Until just a few decades ago it was the most common beast of burden and was also used in agriculture, particularly on Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, although today it is only a tourist attraction. Likewise, a kind of wheat was planted known as *morisco*, while the nobility of La Gomera also took African deer to the island for hunting purposes, although none are left today.

Conclusions

In the sixteenth century, the Moriscos were able to integrate into Canary society, albeit with some difficulty. This situation was favored by the fact that at a specific moment relations with Barbary were severed, thus avoiding the arrival of further Moriscos and cutting off those already there from their country of origin, thereby accelerating assimilation. Institutional coercion also undoubtedly played a part in the process. It is true to say, however, that the presence of this minority was largely guaranteed by the need to increase the population, and in so doing boost labor and defenses, which was certainly one of the reasons why the Moriscos were not expelled from Lanzarote and Fuerteventura. Today, however, when virtually no popular memory now testifies to their former presence, there are those who, unaware that they themselves are probably descended from Moriscos, use racist arguments to reject Morisco descendents.

CHAPTER THREE

INQUISITORIAL ACTIVITY AND THE MORISCOS OF VILLARRUBIA DE LOS OJOS DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Trevor J. Dadson

This study examines a group of five towns (the "Cinco Villas") in the Campo de Calatrava with relatively large Mudejar populations.[1] It analyses their relationship with the Inquisition throughout the sixteenth century and it advances the view that they were mainly assimilationist, looking to gain Old Christian status and the benefits that went with it, and that the Inquisition procedures against them were, with a couple of notable exceptions, relatively few and for minor offences. With the influx of the Granada Moriscos into the region in the 1570s, the older Morisco groups found their privileged status threatened and were keen to indicate their unique character vis-à-vis the newcomers. Within the group of five towns (Aldea del Rey, Almagro, Bolaños, Daimiel and Villarrubia de los Ojos), Villarrubia consistently stands out during the period under study as a place of almost no inquisitorial activity, little if any evidence of heretical practices, and a degree of assimilation of its Morisco population to the majority Christian population that is striking. Although the reasons for this are not altogether clear, some evidence will be provided during the course of this study to suggest how they managed this difficult feat.

The Mudejars of this region had been there since at least the thirteenth century, arriving at about the same time as the whole area was being repopulated after the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa, and were in the main a docile farming community, living at peace with their Christian neighbours.[2] Isolated in small communities dotted all over the vast

[1] This is the term by which the Moors were known in Castile before their conversion in 1502. The best description of it is given by Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada: "[the Mudejars were] Muslims who lived in lands outside of Islamic control, subject to political powers whose religion was not that preached by Muhammad" ([los mudéjares eran] musulmanes que vivían en tierras fuera del dominio del Islam, sujetos a poderes políticos cuya religión no era la que Mahoma había predicado) (*Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, Valladolid, 1969, p. 15). All translations from the original Spanish are mine.

[2] More recently, some historians have argued for a Muslim presence in the area before the thirteenth century, that is to say, a continued presence before the battle of Las Navas,

areas governed by the military Orders, it had been many years since the Mudejars of this part of the Peninsula spoke Arabic, and their knowledge of Islam was in some cases so limited that they had to turn to Christian texts written against Islam in order to learn the basic fundamentals of their supposed religion.[3] In Villarrubia the Mudejars had a small Mosque or *geme* (from the Arabic *jama'a*) in the Calle de la Corredera, in the heart of the Moorish quarter (Morería), where they met, but even before the forced conversion of 1502 it was in a state of considerable disrepair, which does not suggest a high level of religious activity.[4] In any case the documents only talk of the Moors holding their meetings there; there is no obvious reference to anything religious, unless the phrase "juntas y conventículos" is a coded reference to religious worship.[5] If they did have a religious leader at that time, he may have been a certain Cene Faquir, who during the forced baptism of 1502 changed his name to Rodrigo Manrique; he left the village some time between 1502 and 1530, thus depriving the Moriscos of Villarrubia of any visible religious leadership. By the end of the fifteenth century, religion for many of the Mudejars had become, not a belief system, but a way of differentiating themselves from their Old Christian neighbours. They defined themselves therefore more by what they were not than by what they were, since most had lost all knowledge of what it was to be a Muslim in a religious sense.[6]

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during the period when the whole region was very much a no man's land of frequent skirmishes and raids. Luis Rafael Villegas Díaz presents some convincing evidence in a number of recent articles: "Algo más sobre el mudejarismo manchego: El caso de Bolaños," in *Tomás Quesada Quesada. Homenaje*, Granada, 1998, pp. 635–51; "Acerca de la permanencia de población musulmana en el Campo de Calatrava," in VI *Estudios de Frontera: Población y poblamiento. Homenaje a Don Manuel González Jiménez*, Jaén, 2006, pp. 779–92; and, with Clara Almagro Vidal, "Sobre persistencia de población mudéjar en el Campo de Calatrava: algunas noticias más," in *VII Estudios de Frontera: Islam y Cristiandad, siglos XI–XVI. Los Banu Said* [in press]. As he notes in the second of these studies: "habrá que ir aceptando la idea de un despoblamiento musulmán sólo relativo a raíz de la conquista cristiana" (p. 784).

[3] See Mercedes García-Arenal, *Inquisición y moriscos. Los procesos del Tribunal de Cuenca*, Madrid, 1987, p. 56.

[4] The Calle de la Corredera is the present day Avenida Cristo Rey. The building later became the Ermita de Nuestra Señora del Pilar, which by the 1570s was in ruins.

[5] According to *Diccionario de Autoridades, conventículo* is a "Junta o Congregacion de algunas personas, que ordinariamente se toma a mala parte, como Junta oculta y para malos fines." It is difficult to imagine that these meetings were other than religious ones, and yet it is interesting that the documents do not explicitly state this fact.

[6] On the degree of Christianization of the peoples of New Castile during a later period, see Jean-Pierre Dedieu, "'Christianisation' en Nouvelle Castille. Catéchisme, Communion, Messe et Confirmation dans l'Archevêche de Tolède, 1540–1650," *Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, vol. 15 (1979), pp. 261–94.

In 1502 Castile's Muslim population was given the order to convert to Christianity or suffer immediate expulsion from Spain.[7] For the majority of the Mudejars of New Castile, and in particular for those of the Campo de Calatrava, conversion meant making visible a reality that had already been happening on the ground, but in a discreet and indeterminate way, for a long time. Faced with the choice of travelling to unknown and dangerous lands or converting and remaining in their village, the Mudejars readily converted. In any case, conversion, at least in theory, brought them real benefits. Now they would be equal to their Old Christian neighbours: they would be able to opt for posts in the local administration, bear weapons and move around without raising suspicion; they would stop being a marginal minority to become part of the converted, Christian majority.[8] As one of their leaders in Villarrubia put it: "we became Christians and were baptised in the face of Holy Mother Church, to do which all the citizens of this town who converted from Moor to Christian, with no exceptions and very willingly, went to receive holy baptism."[9] But as the Moriscos (as they were now known in the official terminology) of the Campo de Calatrava were not so naïve as to believe that these benefits would fall upon them like manna from Heaven, they decided to take out a form of life insurance—a royal privilege that would guarantee them their new condition as full members of the Christian church. Making the most of the visit to Talavera (not too distant from the Calatrava lands), of the Catholic

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[7] The Edict of Expulsion was published on 12 February 1502 (see Francisco Fernández y González, *Estado social y político de los mudéjares de Castilla*, Madrid, 1985, p. 219). Given that the only route into exile that the Castilian Mudejars could take was via the ports of Vizcaya, the choice for most of them was a very limited one.

[8] The Mudejars of Albarracín in the province of Teruel voluntarily accepted baptism in 1502 even though it did not become obligatory in Aragon until 1526. As Berges Sánchez has noted: "the great majority of the Mudejars of Albarracín became New Christians as an immediate consequence of the order introduced in Castile" (los mudéjares de Albarracín [...] pasaron a ser cristianos nuevos de forma masiva, como consecuencia inmediata de la orden implantada en Castilla) (Juan Manuel Berges Sánchez, "Las comunidades mudéjares de Gea y Albarracín según la documentación notarial del siglo XV. Notas para su estudio," in *Actas del VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. De mudéjares a moriscos: una conversión forzada*, 2 vols, Teruel, 2002, I, pp. 333–65 (p. 362)). This part of Teruel also shared some of the other conditions that we find in the Campo de Calatrava: a high level of assimilation and toleration and a strong desire on the part of the Mudejar population to accede to official posts in the local administration. For more on this, see Mary Halavais, *Like Wheat to the Miller: Community, Convivencia, and the Construction of Morisco Identity in Sixteenth-Century Aragon*, New York, 2005.

[9] Archivo Histórico Nacional [AHN], Inquisición, Leg. 198, Exp. 23: "Testimonios de bautismo y listas de nuevos convertidos de las villas de Villanueva, Daimiel, Almagro, etc. Año 1530." It has reasonably complete baptismal lists for Villarrubia, Almagro, Guadalajara and Maqueda.

Monarchs and the Archbishop of Toledo, Fray Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, a group of the leaders of the Moorish communities of the Five Towns of the Campo de Calatrava appeared before them on 20 April 1502 to request a royal privilege.

Thanks to this Royal Privilege, the former Moors of the region were able for almost three decades to live at peace and free from the vigilance, suspicion and interference of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. This privilege—so valued that the Moriscos of Villarrubia kept a copy of it in a tin box in the Town Hall two centuries after its promulgation—put the Moriscos of the Campo de Calatrava on a legal par with the rest of the Christians of the region. It allowed them to be free, exempt from taxes and tributes, to have freedom of movement throughout the kingdoms of Spain and to enjoy "the honors, offices and other things, just as the Old Christians of the said Towns."[10] They could take part in local elections and stand for the posts of mayor, policeman and alderman, "without anybody making distinctions or there being any separation." Finally, and to avoid excessive rigor on the part of the Inquisition with the recently converted in matters of faith, the Monarchs agreed to speak with the Holy Office "so that whatever was not said with malice or knowingly but inadvertently would not result in their suffering any punishment."[11]

With this precious document in their possession, the Moriscos of the Campo de Calatrava could believe themselves to be freed at last from the marginalisation, discrimination, petty offences and slights, and differences in treatment to which they had become accustomed as Mudejars. For the first time in their history, the Moriscos of the Five Towns were on an equal playing field with respect to the Old Christians. The final words of the Privilege must have given them real confidence in their new future as "New Christians":

> Which all the above we order to be kept and carried out in all things and by everybody, according to what is contained in this our letter and capitulation, and that no person or persons be so bold as to go against this at any time or in any manner, under pain of our favor and a fine of ten thousand *maravedís* for our Chamber to each who does the contrary.[12]

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[10] Luis Vázquez Fernández, "Privilegio de no expulsión de los moriscos antiguos de las Cinco Villas del Campo de Calatrava (Ciudad Real). Documento para la Historia demográfica de Almagro, Bolaños, Villarrubia, Daimiel y Aldea del Rey," in *I Congreso de Historia de Castilla-La Mancha. Tomo VII: Conflictos sociales y evolución económica en la Edad Moderna* (*1*), Toledo, 1988, pp. 289–99 (p. 296).

[11] Vázquez Fernández, "Privilegio de no expulsión," p. 296.

[12] Ibid.

Although the privilege granted by the Catholic Monarchs had been given in perpetuity, the Moriscos of the Five Towns were sufficiently practised in matters of politics and faith to know that it was no bad idea to have it reconfirmed from time to time, especially when there was a new King or Queen on the throne. In any case, it was certain that the Old Christians would not keep to every part of the document, if they could avoid it. So it was that on 22 August 1514 the representatives of the Moriscos of the Five Towns went before Queen Joan to relate how the town of Almagro had refused to let them be elected to the posts of mayor, policeman and alderman in the standard way:

> In the said Town of Almagro, before they were converted, the election for offices took the following form: one half of the said offices were given to the hidalgos and merchants of the said Town and the other half to the Old Christian taxpayers, and that they [*i.e. the Moriscos*] wish to enter into and benefit from the quota of the said Old Christian taxpayers. And they say that the aforementioned do not allow them to do this . . .[13]

Evidently the Old Christians wished to return to the situation that had existed before the conversion, when they occupied all the posts in the Town Hall. However, the Royal Council decreed that the Moriscos were in the right and that they could take part in the local elections in the same way and under the same conditions as the rest of the villagers. It is noteworthy, however, that the petition brought before the Queen in 1514 only mentioned the discrimination suffered by the Moriscos of Almagro. It says nothing of the situation in the other four towns, from which we may deduce that there the Old Christians and the Moriscos had come to an agreement over the distribution of posts.[14]

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[13] Ibid., p. 297.

[14] The situation in Almagro, where the Old Christians and the merchants (of Jewish origin) were in dispute over the distribution of posts, a dispute that lasted throughout the sixteenth century, was fortunately not the case in the rest of the towns, probably because they had no merchant class. One has to remember that Almagro had witnessed, towards the end of 1497, how "the majority of the merchants of the town had been stripped of their rights by the Inquisition" (la mayoría de los mercaderes vecinos de la villa había sido inhabilitada por el tribunal de la Inquisición) (Emma Solano Ruiz, *La Orden de Calatrava en el siglo XV. Los señoríos castellanos de la Orden al fin de la Edad Media*, Sevilla, 1978, p. 365). It is likely that this recent memory had influenced somewhat the decision of the Town Council to separate the Moriscos from the posts destined for "los buenos hombres pecheros cristianos viejos." This dispute between Old Christians, converted Jewish merchants and Moriscos over the posts in Almagro would last for most of the century, as has been demonstrated by Jerónimo López-Salazar Pérez ("Limpieza de sangre y división en estados: el municipio de Almagro durante el siglo XVI," *Stvdia Historica. Historia Moderna*, vol. XII (1994), pp. 157–87), although he has nothing to say on the situation of the Moriscos.

Between the reconfirmation of the privilege in 1514 and the year 1530 the Moriscos apparently enjoyed a period of peace, unmolested by the Inquisition. However, in the summer of 1530 the inquisitor Juan Yanes, from the tribunal of Toledo, arrived for the first time in the Campo de Calatrava, with the principal aim of receiving testimony and examining written proof, in particular the baptismal records, with respect to the reliability of the conversion of the Moriscos. In an effort to put a limit on his investigation and a stop to the presence of inquisitors in the Five Towns, Lope de Hinestrosa (from Daimiel), Alonso Almerique (from Almagro) and Juan Gordo (from Bolaños) were chosen to take the case of the "newly converted in the Campo de Calatrava" before Alonso Manrique, Inquisitor General. On 28 July 1530 they presented a petition to Inquisitor Juan Yanes, who happened to be in Villarrubia, which required him to stop molesting and imprisoning them and accusing them of not being good Christians. It seemed to produce the desired effect for, by the end of that year, things had returned to normal and the Inquisition lost interest in the Moriscos of the Campo de Calatrava, until a new visit at the beginning of 1538 and the wave of denunciations that followed in February reawakened its interest.[15]

Inquisitor Juan Yanes returned to La Mancha in January 1538, during a visitation to the district of Ocaña. It is not altogether clear what had taken him there, but once installed in the Five Towns he began investigating the customs of the Moriscos. As a result of the denunciations he received from the Old Christians, he decided, in November 1538, to arrest Lope de Hinestrosa, almost certainly, according to Jean-Pierre Dedieu, because, as one of the principal figures in the region, he was considered to be the leader of the resistance that the Moriscos of the Five Towns were putting up against the inquisitor.[16] Lope de Hinestrosa was arrested in December. In the following months, there was a stream of detentions of leading Moriscos with Yanes travelling from one end of the region to the other investigating them. Among the accused was Juan de Aragón, who played the role of *alfaquí* or religious leader according to some New Christians; sensibly,

[15] On this episode, which seems to have touched Villarrubia only slightly, as we shall shortly see, one should consult the excellent study by Jean-Pierre Dedieu, "Les Morisques de Daimiel et l'Inquisition—1502–1526," in *Les Morisques et leur temps*, París, 1983, pp. 493–522. Lea also mentions it, with data taken from a manuscript in his own library (Henry Charles Lea, *Los moriscos españoles. Su conversión y expulsión*, Estudio preliminar y notas de Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, Alicante, 2001, pp. 172–73 and 182–85).

[16] Dedieu, "Les Morisques de Daimiel," p. 500.

Juan fled whilst he could. On 16 July 1541 twenty-six Moriscos from Daimiel were paraded in an auto-da-fé; of these, two were condemned to die burned at the stake. The arrests and denunciations continued unabated until an Edict of Grace granted by the Inquisitor General in 1545 to all the Moriscos of New Castile put an end to the persecutions.[17]

In total, sixty-one inhabitants of Daimiel were tried (slightly more than one in ten of the Moriscos of the town): twenty-seven women and thirty-four men, the majority aged above forty. As Dedieu notes : "Although the matter is not entirely clear, it seems that there was a deliberate attempt to go for the leaders, the elders, those most rooted in Islam. As a result, almost one half of those convicted came from rich or well-off families . . ."[18]

An immediate and direct victim of this offensive was the peaceful coexistence that seems to have characterised, at least in part, the relations between Old and New Christians since 1502. In April 1539 Diego Niño, a Morisco from Villarrubia, sent a petition to the Council of the Military Orders in which he complained of the behaviour of the Prior of the town, who was following a royal order "to call upon, on Sundays and feast days, at the moment of the offertory, each of the congregation and parishioners, naming by their names those who were New Christians in order to know if they are at mass."[19] The New Christians of Villarrubia considered this an affront and a scandal, a way of distinguishing them from the rest of the townsfolk and thus in direct violation of the Royal Privilege of 1502, and Diego Niño asked the Prior to stop humiliating them in this way: "for he and the others were good Christians and went to mass not only on feast days but on other days that were not." The Council, in the name of the King, Charles V, wrote to the Governor of the Campo de Calatrava ordering him to tell the Prior to stop annoying the Moriscos of Villarrubia in this fashion. It was a small victory for common sense, but the pressure on the newly converted did not cease.

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[17] Dedieu, "Les Morisques de Daimiel," p. 512.

[18] "Il semble, encore que la chose ne soit pas entièrement claire, qu'il y a eu volonté délibérée d'abattre les têtes, les plus vieux, les mieux enracinés dans l'islam. D'autant que près de la moitié des inculpés proviennent de familles riches ou aisées" (Dedieu, "Les Morisques de Daimiel," p. 501). My translation.

[19] AHN, Órdenes Militares [OO.MM.], Archivo Histórico de Toledo [AHT], Leg. 44.898, s.f., petition dated 28 April 1539. See Miguel Fernando Gómez Vozmediano, *Mudéjares y moriscos en el Campo de Calatrava. Reductos de convivencia, tiempos de intolerancia* (*Siglos XV–XVII*), Ciudad Real, 2000, p. 56.

A final offensive took place in April 1542. Juan Zarco, an inhabitant of Villarrubia, and Juan López Enreda, of Daimiel,[20] had gone around the region collecting powers of attorney and money to finance a journey they were planning to make to Granada. Here they wished to negotiate with the Marquis of Mondéjar an accord,[21] by which, and after a certain payment, the New Christians would be told the names of those who had made allegations to the Inquisition against them. Knowing who was accusing them, they would at least be able to defend themselves against false accusations or tittle-tattle. In addition to Villarrubia and Daimiel (represented by Juan Zarco and Juan López Enreda), the towns of Bolaños and Almagro also agreed to pay the subscription and give their powers, but Aldea del Rey totally refused to do so. As Alonso el Bueno, a wealthy New Christian from Almagro, was considered by many to be the leader of the Moriscos of the Five Towns, he was consulted by night and was asked to put himself at the head of the delegation. What no one knew at this moment, but would do shortly, was that Alonso el Bueno was a traitor who had been working for the Inquisition for many years as a spy on his fellow Moriscos. He rejected the demands of Zarco and López Enreda, and straightaway went to tell everything to the inquisitors.[22]

From the later testimony of Juan López Enreda we know that the journey to Granada took place and that the Moriscos of the Five Towns tried to negotiate with the Marquis of Mondéjar. It is possible that the Edict of Grace that followed in 1545, shortly after this journey, was the direct result of their efforts, although no evidence has so far been found of any negotiations.[23] López Enreda believed that his trial by the Inquisition derived from the fact that not all of the Moriscos wanted to pay their share of the costs, in particular those from Aldea del Rey. What he did not know, of course, was that he had been denounced by Alonso el Bueno, who continued enjoying the trust of the Moriscos.

Thus while there were many trials against the Moriscos of Almagro, Bolaños, Aldea del Rey and Daimiel, there were none, it would seem, against those from Villarrubia. And it is not easy from our perspective

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[20] Juan López Enreda had connections with Villarrubia via one of his daughters, Mayor López, married to Gabriel Sánchez Raposo, the son of Gabriel Raposo, a citizen of Villarrubia.

[21] The Marquis of Mondéjar was Captain General of the Kingdom of Granada and, like most of the Mendozas, generally favorable to the cause of the Moriscos.

[22] On this double agent and wealthy landowner, see Gómez Vozmediano, *Mudéjares y moriscos*, Chapter 9: "Los tortuosos derroteros de la convivencia: la familia Bueno."

[23] See Dedieu, "Les Morisques de Daimiel," p. 510.

to see why there was this lack of interest by the Inquisition in the internal affairs of Villarrubia, unless its Moriscos were more integrated into Christian society and therefore the denunciations that normally set off the actions of the Inquisition were lacking.[24]

After the Edict of Grace of 1545 and the celebration on 12 July of an auto-da-fe in the Cathedral of Toledo, where a long list of those reconciled back to the Church was read out, inquisitorial activity in the region decreased. In the years following there were a small number of trials, quite spread out in time, but no major persecutions as in 1538–1542.[25] And the trials were in the main for very minor offences: blasphemy, perjury, suspected Islamic burial practices, especially in how the bodies were prepared for burial; nothing serious enough for the inquisitors to waste their time over, and, from the data provided by the trials, with an increasing level of assimilation of the minority population into the majority one. Indeed, the fact that there was no inquisitorial activity in the Campo de Calatrava worthy of note during the thirty years that followed the persecutions of 1538–1542 may be a sign of the good relations that existed between the two communities of Old and New Christians, although it could conceivably be the result of the general lessening of inquisitorial activity throughout the Peninsula after 1540.

The interest of the Holy Office in the inhabitants of the Campo de Calatrava did not return to the foreground until the 1570s and the arrival there of thousands of Moriscos from Granada, deported from their homes during the harsh winter of 1570–1571. It was never part of the plans of Philip II's ministers that the Moriscos from Granada would remain in the lands of the Orders; the idea was to transport them much more to the North, well away from the land of their forebears. But the harsh winter, the

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[24] See what Juan Blázquez Miguel has to say about the situation in Almagro: "In Almagro, towards 1502, 114 Moriscos converted and they established themselves in the so-called Barrio Nuevo; however, this community was not as persecuted by the Inquisition as those we have touched upon so far [Bolanos and Daimiel], perhaps because they were more integrated into Christian society" (En Almagro, hacia 1502, se convirtieron 114 moriscos, los cuales se establecieron en el llamado barrio 'Nuevo', aunque esta comunidad no fue tan perseguida por la Inquisición como las que hasta ahora [*Bolaños y Daimiel*] hemos tratado, quizá por estar más integrada en la sociedad cristiana) (*La inquisición en Castilla-La Mancha*, Madrid, 1986, p. 36). The lack of accusations for Villarrubia surely indicates the same.

[25] Nonetheless, some of the trials that began during the great persecution of 1538–1542 lasted for many years, like that of Mari Gómez from Daimiel, which did not finish until March 1551, when she was punished with house arrest and performing acts of penitence (see Lea, *Los moriscos españoles*, pp. 182–84).

conditions of the journey from Granada in which thousands died, and the illnesses they brought with them (typhus in particular), all had an effect on the captains in charge of their deportation: they could not but be moved by the plight of their charges and so they left them 'parked' all over La Mancha, Campo de Montiel, Campo de Calatrava and Extremadura. The deportees were generally well received, in some cases with open arms by the inhabitants of these regions, which counted among the least densely populated of the Peninsula. There was a dearth of labourers in the fields, and the feudal lords of these former military towns and villages saw in the arrival of the Granada Moriscos an immediate and cheap way of solving the problem. In any case, in many of the villages where there were already so-called "moriscos antiguos" (Old Moriscos, the former Mudejars) they found a welcome among supposed co-religionists.

Worried by the influx of Moriscos from Granada into the region and the (negative) effect that this could have on the Old Moriscos, the Tribunal of Toledo sent inquisitor Antonio Matos de Noroña on an official visit to the Campo de Calatrava between June and October 1573. Although it seems that he did not visit Villarrubia in person, a number of denunciations of Villarrubia's Moriscos were made as a result of his visit.[26] Juan de Bernardino, a tailor, was condemned to pay two ducats for occasionally having carried weapons, in spite of not being allowed to because his father Juan de Bernardino, a cobbler, had previously been condemned by the Inquisition. Francisco Herrera, a Morisco farm labourer from Villarrubia, was tried in 1572 for stating that "when it came to women, he said that it was not a sin for a man to have a carnal relationship with a woman."[27] (The trial records of the Toledo Tribunal reveal that this was a widely held belief among both Old and New Christians).

In 1573 the Inquisition crossed swords with Diego el Niño, a graduate in law and member of one of the families of the Morisco elite of Villarrubia, and perhaps also the same individual we came across earlier, in 1539, who had complained of the humiliating treatment of the Prior of Villarrubia when he had publicly singled out the New Christians at mass. In 1573

[26] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2.105, Exp. 11. At the end of the account, there is a list of the towns that he visited; Villarrubia is not among them. All of the trials described below are to be found in this dossier.

[27] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2.105, Exp. 10, año de 1572. In "expediente 11, año de 1573," he is referred to as a "Mudejar farmworker." It seems that he had said that "a man, lying carnally with a woman, provided that he paid her, this was not a sin." In spite of being reprehended for his remarks, he persisted in what he had said, and that is why he was prosecuted.

Diego el Niño was prosecuted "for having said that the law of Muhammad was founded on natural reason," but he was absolved, thanks no doubt to his legal training, "on account of the defence that he put up."[28]

Rather more interesting for the inquisitors was the case of a Morisco from Villarrubia (whose name they could not discover), who, whilst out walking with a friend of his (an Old Christian, it seems), let him into a secret, after having the other swear not to reveal it to anyone:

> The said New Christian told him that he should know and understand that, being a New Christian or converted Jew, he had no legitimate faith, however good a Christian others thought him to be, because he [the speaker] had been tempted twice to stab him with a dagger that he carried, and that when the other went walking with any New Christian or converted Jew, he ought to ensure that the latter went ahead of him, and this he gave to him as good advice.

The whole affair seems more an attempt to frighten his friend than anything else, but the case was sent to the tribunal, as was that of Andrés Ximénez, a Granada Morisco from Enyeire, a village three leagues from Guadix.[29] Andrés was the slave of Ensign Alonso González, a villager from Villarrubia who had likely fought in the rebellion of Granada. His case reveals exactly what the inquisitors had feared with the settling of so many Moriscos from Granada among the old Moriscos of the region.[30] According to the witnesses called to give testimony, Andrés Ximénez held that "the law of the Moors [*i.e. Islam*] was as good as that of the Christians, because God had also given the Moors their law just as he had the Christians theirs, and that therefore the Moor who kept his law would also go to heaven just like the Christian who kept his"[31] Also, according to the witnesses for the prosecution, he stated that "the Pope, the King and the Holy

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[28] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2.105, Exp. 11, año de 1573.

[29] I have been unable to identify this village; it may be an auditory error of transcription for Aldeire.

[30] The inquisitor Matos de Noroña had already warned the *Suprema* that the old Moriscos, who lived in districts called "Barrios Nuevos," should be obliged to live among Old Christians, "because in this way, if they do something that they should not against our Holy Catholic Faith, we will know it better than if they are together, because they cover up for each other and thus no one denounces any of them." The Moriscos from Granada simply added another ingredient to this habitual closing of ranks before the outside world.

[31] The record of his trial is in AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2.105, Exp. 13, año de 1575. A more complete and detailed version of the trial can be found in the University of Halle Library [UHL], MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fols. 9r–10v, from where I have taken all the quotations. See also Julio Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición de Toledo* (*1575–1610*). *Manuscrito de Halle*, Madrid, 2005, pp. 231–33 (but with some errors of transcription).

Office acted very badly in allowing a Christian to be a captive of another Christian [...] and that the Moors were better people than the Christians because these were all mixed up with the Jews." Either of these accusations, if proven, was enough to condemn him. Andrés Ximénez of course denied everything, but the evidence against him was so strong that he was heading straight for the stake, and he knew it. He asked for an audience with the inquisitors and began to "narrate" his salvation. He realised immediately that he would have to give them everything they wanted—Muslim rites, practices and prayers—and then recognise the error of his ways and beg for reconciliation with the Church.[32]

Since the one factor in his favor was his youth, he began by blaming all of his misfortunes on his parents who had brought him up in the Muslim faith. On account of his youth and inexperience, he said, he had known no better, but now he recognised that he had been in grave error all these years. He described in great detail all the prayers that he recited each day and how he had kept Ramadan ("he had fasted during Ramadan since the age of eleven or twelve or fourteen years until he arrived in Castile, which would be about four years ago, and that fasting consisted of not eating all day until nightfall and at night he ate whatever he had available").[33] Ximénez knew rather a lot about Ramadan, for his inquisitors surely far too much:

> And in this way he fasted all the time that that moon lasted, for if it were of thirty days then he fasted thirty days, and if it were less, the same; and he did not know when this period of fasting fell, except that every three years it is a month, and in thirty years it returns to the month in which it started. And, once fasting was over, he had his feast day and he kept one day for this, and he did not keep any more because he did it in secret. And during the fasting of Ramadan he carried out charitable works of the Moor [...].[34]

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[32] For a more general context for these matters, see Stuart Schwartz, *All Can be Saved: Religious Toleration and Salvation in the Iberian Atlantic World*, Yale, 2010.

[33] If this is true, he arrived in the Campo de Calatrava along with the first deportees in 1571. See what Mercedes García-Arenal has to say of the deep-rooted nature of the feast of Ramadan in the Moriscos, even those who were well integrated into Christian culture: "The fast of Ramadan is without any doubt the religious practice most tenaciously embedded in the life of a New Christian and universally kept by all. It can be said to be the last Muslim characteristic to be lost: it is found in people who in every other way show signs of being almost completely integrated into Christianity" (El *ayuno del Ramadán* es sin ningún género de duda la práctica religiosa más tenazmente anclada en la vida de un cristiano nuevo y universalmente guardada por todos. Se podría afirmar que es el ultimo rasgo musulmán en perderse: se encuentra en personas que por lo demás dan muestras de estar casi totalmente integradas al cristianismo) (*Inquisición y moriscos*, pp. 46–47).

[34] UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fol. 9v. The giving of alms was the fourth of the five essential obligations of all Muslims and was an act especially associated with Ramadan.

He knew the names of all the prayers that he recited, as with the five prayers that all Muslims recite daily: *alcobh* (*Aʿssubhi*: "the dawn," the dawn prayer; in Arabic صبح),[35] *doar* (*Azzuhar*: "midday," the midday prayer; in Arabic الظهر),[36] *hazar* (*Alᶜ aSar*: "afternoon," the afternoon prayer; in Arabic عصر),[37] *elegin* (the dusk prayer [*Salat al-maghrib*]),[38] *hatamay* (*Alʿatama*(*h*): "first third of the night," the prayer that was recited an hour or hour and a half after dusk; in Arabic عتم).[39] He also mentions the Suras (*las azoras*)[40] of *al-ḥamdu* (from the Sura that opens the Koran: *al-hamd ul-illahi*, meaning: "Praise be to God") and of *colando birabil farahc* (probably from Sura CXIII, the dawn Sura, which would be transcribed "qul aᶜudu birabbi lfalaqi," and which means: 'He says: "I seek refuge in the Lord of the dawn"'; in Arabic: قُلْ أَعُوذُ بِرَبِّ الْفَلَقِ), and the *azalás* of *guadoc*[41] and *alhoeçerer* (the latter of which he said every night when he got into bed).[42]

He told the inquisitors how, before praying, he would wash his entire body in the Muslim way:

> Beginning first of all with the shameful parts from behind, three times, and then he would wash them from the front, and then he washed his legs three times beginning first with the right one, and then he washed his hands and arms up to the elbows, beginning with the right, and then his face and then

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[35] The first words in italics are those that are transcribed in the trial record; the words in italics in parentheses are the present-day Arabic words for these prayers. Naturally, there is a large degree of distortion between what Andrés Ximénez says (words almost certainly badly learnt in the first place), and what a Castilian notary hears and transcribes. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that Ximénez knew the exact hour at which each prayer was to be recited; he did not get one wrong. I am very grateful for the help given to me by Dr Nuria Martínez de Castilla Muñoz of the C.S.I.C. (Departamento del Patrimonio del Texto) in first locating and then explaining to me the correct meaning of the terms employed by Andrés Ximénez.

[36] This is *Salat al-zuhr*.

[37] This is the prayer of vespers: *Salat al-'asr*.

[38] The term *elegin* or *el egin* is likely to be a corruption of *alajere* or *al-aḥir*, the Arabic word meaning "the last one", that is to say, the name for the last prayer that follows that for vespers, just as in Andrés Ximénez's description. See Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los Moriscos*, Madrid, 1975, p. 93.

[39] This is *Salat al-'isha*, and is in fact the first prayer of the cycle of five daily prayers.

[40] The Sura (which the scribe transcribed somewhat unfortunately as 'zorra'), from the Arabic *sūra*, is each one of the chapters into which the Koran is divided. In total, there are 114 suras.

[41] The word 'azalá' (prayer) comes from the Hispano-Arabic 'aṣṣala', which in turn derives from the classical Arabic 'ṣalāh'. *Guadoc* or *alguado*, the ritual ablution, comes from the Arabic *al-wuḍū'* (ablution).

[42] The prayer that the scribe has written down as *alhoeçerer* is a corruption of *Ayat al-Kursi* (in Arabic: آية الكرسي, the Verse of the Throne), from Sura II, v. 255, a verse which Muslims recite nightly, as in the case of Andrés Ximénez.

> his chin and then his nose and then his ears and then his head, moving it up and down, carrying out the ablution three times for every part that he washed until he had done his whole body. And this was called *aguadar quibir* [...].[43]

At the start of the ritual ablution, he would place his hands over his ears and say "*hala hugna quibar*, saying also *al-handu* [*al-ḥamdu*], which was a sura of the Moors."[44] He also revealed what he said during the washing; for example, when he washed his mouth, he would say "God maintain the upholding of his Glory"; when he washed his nostrils, he would say "God allow me to smell the upholding of his Glory"; when he washed his ears, he would say "God allow me to hear his wise word and Muhammad as well"; and when he washed his head, he would say "God has lightened my head of its errors and sins."[45] Certainly, the testimony of Andrés Ximénez as regards the daily rites of Muslims was much more useful to the inquisitors than any standard manual they used, and, at the same time, irrefutable proof of the depth and extent of his knowledge of Islam. It is a pity that we do not have the whole trial, just an abbreviated summary of it and the trial record. We can only imagine, therefore, the exchange of words, the cut and thrust of ideas and emotions between the accused slave from Granada and his ecclesiastical interrogators.

Andrés Ximénez had to wait until 1575 to receive sentence: to process publicly in the auto-da-fé (which he did on 4 September 1575), standard reconciliation back into the Church and three years in the galleys, which, given that he was a confessed Muslim, knew all the prayers and carried out all the rites of Islam, had killed some forty Christians in the Uprising of Granada and did not eat bacon, was all in all a very light sentence. Others, with fewer charges to their name, ended up being released to the secular arm and burned at the stake.[46] But, as we have seen, Andrés Ximénez was a clever young man. Apart from playing the card of youth and, thus, inexperience, and the influence of his parents who had brought him

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[43] UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fol. 10r. The phrase *aguadar quibir* is almost certainly a corruption of *al-wuḍū' al-kabīr*, the Arabic term for the major ritual ablution, which is, after all, what he is describing.

[44] It is likely that the phrase *hala hugna quibar* is a corruption of the standard Arabic *Allāhu akbar*, which signifies "God is almighty" or "Allah is great," sometimes written as *Alahu ogbar* in Morisco texts.

[45] A full description of the ritual ablution as practised by the Moriscos in Spain can be found in Pedro Longás, *La vida religiosa de los moriscos*, Granada, 1998, pp. 16–30.

[46] Such was the fate of the next one in the list of prosecuted, Lorenzo Pintado, a native of Almería and the slave of Juan Ruiz Malagón, from Almagro, who persisted in his beliefs and was burned for them. See UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fol. 10v.

up in the faith of Muhammad, he seems to have realised that by telling all and recognising his errors, he might just save himself. To this has to be added his final flourish: whilst in the jail of the Inquisition, he confessed to the inquisitors, "he read the book which he was given, which is *Contemptus mundi*, and through it he saw that he was in error, blind and a sinner, and that he had been taught all the aforementioned Moorish things by his mother and father."[47] Above all, his mother had told him not to confess his Muslim practices to anybody, "because there was a thing called the Inquisition and they would burn him, and for that reason he had not confessed them." He was not only a very clever Morisco but also a very educated one if, coming from the mountains of Granada, he could read a book in Castilian or Latin (the *Contemptus mundi* was edited in both languages at that time in Spain), but of this his inquisitors surprisingly said nothing.

In 1574 the inquisitor Juan de Llano de Valdés visited the region, but the account that he later sent to his superiors shows that he found very few cases that merited his attention. One who did not wait for the visit of the inquisitor but gave himself up was the Morisco Gómez López de Amores from Villarrubia. He recounted that "some fourteen months ago, when he was in the said town, he knocked on a door and when he was asked who was there, he replied 'San Juan de Porta Latina [St John of the Latin Gate]', and that he said it without malice or meaning to say it."[48] He obviously did not trust his neighbours and what they might say about him; it was much better to hand himself over for a simple blasphemy than to be taken prisoner and hauled before the inquisitors for something worse.

Towards the end of 1583 Lope el Gordo, another Morisco from Villarrubia, fell into the net of the Toledo Tribunal for having said in front of two witnesses that "the Moriscos from the Kingdom of Valencia were better people and more fearful of God than the Old Christians, because they followed their law and did not confess to anyone but God. For what was this thing of a man confessing his sins to another man, and a man guilty of a thousand sins going to tell them to another man just like him."[49] These were very dangerous beliefs that normally led the accused straight to the stake, but Lope el Gordo was fortunate, first of all, that no more than one witness could be found to testify against him, and, secondly, that when

[47] UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fol. 10v.

[48] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2.105, Exp. 12, año de 1574.

[49] His trial record is in UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fol. 86v; see also Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición*, p. 316.

put to torture, he resisted. The trial was suspended and Lope el Gordo released.

The last inhabitant of Villarrubia to be accused by the Inquisition in the sixteenth century was Juan López, a farm labourer aged 19 and, at the time of his imprisonment, a soldier. He was accused by five witnesses in 1597 of blasphemy: "that when the said Juan López said 'Praised be Jesus Christ,' another person said 'And the mother who gave him birth,' to which the aforementioned Juan López replied 'That's me, good Heavens!'"[50] Although reprehended for these blasphemous words, Juan López persisted in his attitude: "he could say it there and in front of everyone, and they could accuse him and do what they wanted but he would accuse everyone else." After interrogating him, the inquisitors came to the conclusion that he was a reckless and highly-strung individual and that he had blasphemed after playing at cards and losing. Eventually, Juan López confessed his guilt and he was sentenced to attend mass dressed as a penitent, to be whipped in prison and, once freed, to confess and take communion.[51]

Notwithstanding this low level of inquisitorial activity for Villarrubia, in other parts of the Campo de Calatrava the list of names of Moriscos from Granada who regularly appeared before the Toledo Tribunal is impressive and a sign that they were permanently in the sights of the inquisitors. During the 1570s they are without doubt the most numerous group of those investigated and condemned.[52]

Naturally the Old Moriscos were anxious that the Inquisition activity directed against the Granada Moriscos did not touch them also. With this in mind, a group of 199 Moriscos from the Five Towns (among them ten from Villarrubia), led by Pedro Rubio, Alonso Herrador and their consorts from Almagro, presented a petition to the king in 1577 asking for reconfirmation of the Privilege they had been granted by the Catholic Monarchs in 1502. Among the reasons they put forward for requiring this was the

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[50] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2.105, Exp. 33, año de 1597. See also UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fol. 256r, and Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición*, pp. 464–65. The original loses something in translation: "que diciendo el dicho Juan López 'Loado sea Jesús Cristo,' cierta persona dijo 'Y la madre que tal parió,' [y] el dicho Juan López dijo 'Yo soy ése, voto a Dios.'"

[51] See John Edwards, "Faith and Doubt in Medieval Soria, 1450–1500," *Past and Present* 120 (1988): 3–25, for similar cases of local and dubious religious beliefs and practices, which were widespread in rural Spain and not limited to the Moriscos.

[52] For their trial records, see AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2.105, Expedientes 10–13 (1572–1575), UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1 (which begin from 1575), and Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición*. One can contrast this situation with the trials listed before the arrival into the area of the Moriscos from Granada; see Real Biblioteca, Madrid, MS II/1846, fols. 64r–65v, for "el auto de inquisición en Toledo domingo 18 de junio de 1570."

situation caused by the Uprising of the Alpujarras, which had led the local justices to treat all Moriscos the same, i.e. as rebels:

> that all of them had been in possession, use and custom of this privilege, each in his own time, after it had been granted, without anything contrary to it until now when some justices, police officers and other officials of some cities, towns and villages of these our Realms, where the families of the aforementioned lived and dwelt or went about their business and commercial activities, under the pretext of the rebellion of the Kingdom of Granada took them prisoner and molested them as if they were Moriscos of the said Kingdom, embargoing their goods, taking away their weapons, trying to tax them more than the Old Christians of the said Towns, excluding them from the council elections, and finally carrying out many petty humiliations on them, against the tenor of the said privilege.[53]

They stressed that they had been faithful vassals of the king, that many of them had married Old Christians, and that "in their speech, customs and dealings they had already become Old Christians," making a distinction between themselves and the newly arrived Granada Moriscos with their more Arabic customs, behaviour and speech. They even reminded the king of their direct contribution to the war in Granada: "serving with their persons, arms and estates, maintaining soldiers or men at war, providing money and other things that they had been ordered to."[54]

Philip II ordered an investigation into the situation of the Moriscos of the Five Towns; in particular he wanted the judges to see if "they had any information as to whether the said Pedro Rubio and consorts were among those included in the said Privilege, and why it had been given and granted to them, used and upheld with them, and for how long they had been living and dwelling in the said Towns [...] and if any of them were from those who had newly arrived from the said Kingdom of Granada."[55] Obviously, he did not want any of the Granada Moriscos recently deported to the Campo de Calatrava to benefit from this privilege. However, once the investigations were over, the King not only reconfirmed the privilege, he also strengthened some of its clauses, ordering the local justices to

> allow them [the autochthonous Moriscos] to live, reside and move freely around all these said cities, towns, and villages, and carry weapons; and you should admit them to the council offices, allowing them to take part in the

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[53] Vázquez Fernández, "Privilegio de no expulsión," p. 295.

[54] For similar situations elsewhere in the Peninsula, see James B. Tueller, *Good and Faithful Christians. Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain*, New Orleans, 2002.

[55] Vázquez Fernández, "Privilegio de no expulsión," p. 297.

> elections without any distinction whatsoever; and they should be free and exempt from all the taxes and other things as are the rest of the Old Christians of those said villages[…].

It is of fundamental importance to read the reconfirmation of the privilege in the context of the 1570s and not of 1502, when it was first granted, for underlying the new clauses is the existence of thousands of Moriscos from Granada spread out all over the Campo de Calatrava. The Old Moriscos wanted, and received, a privileged position, the same status, at least legally, as the Old Christians, a situation that they zealously guarded, as we see in these words of Alonso Herrador from Villarrubia:

> they are all descendants of the noble Moors who voluntarily converted to the Holy Catholic Faith in the Five Towns of the Campo de Calatrava, and to whom the Catholic Monarchs, at the time of their conversion, granted certain privileges, making them equal to the Old Christians in all matters of honours, preeminences and freedoms which the rest of the Old Christians enjoy and with the same degree of equality as them. And with freedom under the law to live and reside in any part of these kingdoms[…].[56]

One of the privileges that the Moriscos enjoyed in Villarrubia was to take part in the elections for the posts of mayor and aldermen "via the estate of Old Christians," and they stressed that "in these offices no one was ever elected who lived here with the name of Morisco of the Kingdom of Granada."[57] The desired separation between the two groups could not be more simply put.

It was crucial for them (and it would be for the future development of their relations with the Old Christians) to be considered the same as the Old Christians. And to achieve this they were prepared to differentiate themselves from the Granada Moriscos in their customs, behaviour and speech, and to remind everyone of the role they had played in the King's armies during the Uprising of the Alpujarras. In general terms, the villagers of Villarrubia stated that many of their number "went to the war of Granada at the time of the rebellion of the Moriscos, and with their persons and estates they served his Majesty,"[58] but a significant part of their contingent consisted of Old Moriscos, who fought in Granada shoul-

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[56] Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos* (*siglos XV–XVIII*). *Historia de una minoría asimilada, expulsada y reintegrada*, Madrid, 2007, p. 1178, Apéndice III, Doc. 6, part of a lawsuit brought by Licenciate Alonso Herrador (from Villarrubia) in the 1630s.

[57] Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia*, p. 1179.

[58] Carmelo Viñas y Ramón Paz, *Relaciones histórico-geográfico-estadísticas de los pueblos de España hechas por iniciativa de Felipe II. Ciudad Real*, Madrid, 1971, p. 605.

der by shoulder with "many others from Almagro, Daimiel, Aldea del Rey, Villarrubia and Bolaños, which are the privileged Five Towns."[59] As Gómez Vozmediano has observed for Almagro:

> A large part of the converted population mobilised and took up arms against the rebellious Moriscos. Alonso el Bueno (with the *sambenitos* of his ancestors hanging in the church of St Bartholomew) served as a soldier in Granada; Yseo, son of Garci Rodrigo el Gordo, carried the ensign's standard, went to Alcázar de San Juan to recruit volunteers and was a captain in Naples [...] On a secondary level, we have the dozens of cart drivers and muleteers of Morisco origin who packed the military convoys that put down the threat of those who had risen in arms in Granada (1568–70). It is not surprising therefore that the insurance policy given to them by Ferdinand the Catholic was reconfirmed in 1577.[60]

However much sympathy their 'brothers' from Granada awoke in them and however welcome they were, at the end of the day the Old Moriscos of the Campo de Calatrava—the descendants of the "noble Moors" [*moros nobles*] as they called themselves—wanted to live and be considered as Old Christians and they were not prepared to allow anyone to take this possibility away from them.[61] And if it were necessary, they would return

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[59] AHN, OO.MM, AHT, Leg. 35.321, fol. 58r (cited in Gómez Vozmediano, *Mudéjares y moriscos*, p. 76).

[60] "Buena parte de la población conversa se movilizó empuñando las armas contra los moriscos levantiscos. Alonso el Bueno (con los sambenitos de sus antepasados colgados en la iglesia de San Bartolomé) sirve como soldado en Granada; Yseo, hijo de Garci Rodrigo el Gordo, portaba la bandera de alférez, yendo a Alcázar de San Juan a reclutar voluntarios y ejerciendo de capitán en Nápoles [...] En un segundo plano quedan las decenas de carreteros y arrieros de origen morisco que engrosaron los comboyes [*sic*] militares que reprimieron la amenaza de los alzados granadinos (1568–70). Por ello no es de extrañar que fuera validada, en 1577, la carta de seguro dada por Fernando el Católico" (Miguel Fernando Gómez Vozmediano, "Devociones religiosas colectivas y conversos en Almagro: la Cofradía de Santa María de Mirabuenos (ss. XV–XVII)," *Hispania Sacra*, vol. 50 (1998), pp. 65–100 (pp. 89–90)). As Javier Castillo Fernández has reminded us, we must not forget "the large number of Granada Moriscos, the majority of whom came from areas of mixed population, who enlisted in the Christian forces to take part in the suppression of the rebellion of 1568–1570" (el abundante número de moriscos [del reino de Granada], la mayoría procedentes de zonas de poblamiento mixto, que se enrolaron en las huestes cristianas para participar en el aplastamiento de la rebelión de 1568–1570) ("La asimilación de los moriscos granadinos: un modelo de análisis," in Antonio Mestre Sanchis and Enrique Giménez López eds., *Disidencias y exilios en la España moderna. Actas de la IV Reunión Científica de la Asociación Española de Historia Moderna*, Alicante, 1997, pp. 347–611 (p. 353)).

[61] As Gómez Vozmediano has rightly noted: "On the other side were the Old Christianised Mudejars, who saw in the Granada Moriscos a dangerous ferment of subversion, of rupture with the process of acculturation undertaken by their ancestors" (De otro [lado] estaban los antiguos mudéjares evangelizados, que veían en los granadinos un peligroso fermento de subversión, de ruptura con el proceso de aculturación emprendida por sus

to the king to ask for another reconfirmation of their ancient privileges, as happened in August 1584 when Pedro el Rubio, Alonso Almerique and other citizens of Almagro sent a petition to the Council of the Military Orders, in which they complained of the conduct of the Alcalde Mayor of Almagro who had questioned their rights. The response of the king could not have been more favorable to their wishes: "consequently, I declare you to be descendants of the New Christians of one of the Five Towns of the said district and as such to be able to enjoy the exemptions and freedoms which the New Christians of the said Five Towns enjoy, as contained in the privilege which they have."[62]

It is not clear if this new petition had anything to do also with problems with the Granada Moriscos, but it may be significant that a few months earlier, in May 1584, the Royal Council had granted a privilege to those from the Kingdom of Granada who had not risen in 1568 (the so-called collaborators) and who were leading exemplary lives in Castile. These had complained of the discriminatory treatment that all those from Granada received in Castile, whether they were guilty of robbery and murder or were peaceful and integrated, for, as the privilege noted: "what you most felt was the general infamy which everybody assigned to you, believing you all to be bad and of the same condition and quality as those of your nation who carried out robberies and attacks, the which should not be presumed of you."[63] The privilege even recognised the advances that the Granada Moriscos had brought to agriculture ("the improvement was seen everywhere you live in the estates and orchards and farms in the countryside") and saw in them a very productive sector of society ("for most of you have very useful trades that are necessary to the republic").

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antepasados) (*Mudéjares y moriscos*, p. 81). Serafín de Tapia Sánchez encountered the same sentiments among the Old Moriscos of Ávila: "The 'converted' Moriscos do not lose an opportunity to make it clear to the authorities that they are different to the Granada Moriscos who had arrived in Castile in 1570" (Los 'convertidos' no pierden ocasión de dejar claro ante las autoridades que ellos son distintos de los granadinos que habían llegado a Castilla en 1570); this anxiety to differentiate reached the extreme of the former alleging that "if any can be called New Christians then it should be those listed in this city as coming from the Kingdom of Granada" (si algunos se pueden deçir christianos nuevos serán los que están alistados en esta çiudad de el Reyno de Granada) ("Los moriscos de Castilla la Vieja, ¿una identidad en proceso de disolución?", *Sharq al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, vol. 12 (1995), pp. 179–95 (p. 185)).

62 AHN, OO.MM., AHT, Leg. 44.888, s.f., petition dated 18 August 1584.

63 Archivo General de Simancas [AGS], Registro General del Sello, 17-I-1585 (a copy of the original granted on 24 May 1584), cited in Aurelio García López, "Conflictividad y conciencia. La aplicación de justicia y la minoría morisca en el reino de Castilla," in *Disidencias y exilios en la España moderna*, pp. 455–68 (pp. 460–61).

That only three months later a group of Old Moriscos wanted a further reconfirmation of their own privilege that put them on an equal footing with the Old Christians could be yet again a sign of the social, cultural and ethnic distance that they wanted to put between themselves and the Moriscos from Granada.[64]

However, it was no less true that the Old Moriscos could learn a lot about internal organisation from the Granada Moriscos, who went from individual action in the 1580s to collective political activity in the 1590s. Each local community first of all named a commissar to represent its interests and these then sent the general complaints to the General Procurator of the Moriscos who presented their demands in Parliament. A tangible result of this tactic was that in 1602, in exchange for a tax donation of 200,000 ducats in 1591, they were given a series of benefits, among them the right to shed the name Moors or Moriscos:

> insofar as by us they had been granted our favor that in their dress, clothes and language they conformed to that of the Old Christians of these our realms and they should be received as natives of them since they observed the Holy Catholic Faith and the Christian religion, in no way should they be allowed to be reviled, insulted nor called Moors nor Moriscos nor any other ugly or insulting words.[65]

The Inquisition returned on an official visit to the Campo de Calatrava in 1595 and again in 1606, when it concentrated its activities in Almagro, almost certainly as the result of denunciations there. For three months in 1606 there was a fierce persecution of the Moriscos from Granada that ended with 45 people denounced and four relaxed in person, among them Hernando de la Palma, a cobbler and *alfaquí* of the Granada Moriscos of the town.[66]

Interestingly, given what happened just eleven years later, the visit of 1595 had not thrown up any serious cases of Islamic practice, just the

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[64] There is no doubt that during these years, the middle 1580s, the Granada Moriscos were beginning to wake up from the lethargy caused by their deportation in 1570 and to reclaim their rights. On 7 October 1584 the Granada Moriscos from Guadalajara (originally from Ferreira in the Marquisate of Cenete) asked for a copy and reconfirmation of the original privilege that they had been granted by the Catholic Monarchs when they converted (Aurelio García López, *Moriscos en tierras de Uceda y Guadalajara* (*1502–1610*), Guadalajara, 1992, pp. 219–20).

[65] AGS, Registro General del Sello, 26-III-1602, cited in García López, "Conflictividad y conciencia," pp. 466–68.

[66] Details of their arrest, trial and sentences in AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 496, Exp. 3; AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 2106, Exp. 5, causa 5; UHL, MS Yc 2°, vol. 1, fols. 336v–43v; Sierra, *Procesos en la Inquisición*, pp. 537–48.

dying remains of a religion on the point of disappearing, as far as the Inquisition was concerned. What is particularly noteworthy from this visit is the latent hostility between the two groups of Moriscos who lived in Almagro, for many of the denunciations against the Granada Moriscos came, not from the Old Christians, but from the Old Moriscos. From these denunciations we can see the ill will there was among the two groups, one desperate to assimilate and to be considered Old Christians, the other, those recently arrived from Granada, equally desperate not to lose their religion and beliefs and not at all trusting of their former co-religionists. However, the divisions were not so simple, as the case of Francisca López la Astillera reminds us: she repeated a conversation she had had some seventeen years earlier with Mari Gómez, the wife of a Granada Morisco, and evidently a good friend of hers in spite of their differences over religion. Mari Gómez had said to her that

> at one time when she wished to marry an Old Christian, her parents, Carrillo el Herrero and his wife, had punished her and kept her locked indoors because of that; and when Francisca asked her why they should punish her because she wanted to marry an Old Christian, she said that her parents told her that they did not want her to marry an Old Christian in order to prevent her mixing her blood up with the Old Christians and their bad law. And this witness told her that these things happen and the said Mari Gómez agreed, saying that the Moriscos of Barrio Nuevo were just as much Moors as they had been before.[67]

That is to say, according to the Granada Morisca Mari Gómez, there was not very much difference between the two groups of Moriscos: both suffered the rejection of the majority Old Christian population and both considered Christianity to be "bad law," and this should unite not separate them. Nonetheless, this conversation referred to events of the past. By the 1590s the Old Moriscos of Barrio Nuevo had chosen the road of assimilation and they were not going to abandon it now. The merciless attack carried out by the Inquisition against the Granada Moriscos in 1606 would have convinced them even more, if possible, of the sense of this policy.

The activity of the Inquisition in Almagro and its district, both in 1595 and in 1606, is worth reflecting on, since Villarrubia, only a few kilometres distant, does not appear cited in any of the documentation, nor does it throw up any cases of denunciation. As we have seen, this is the norm for most of the sixteenth century: if in 1538 the attack of the Holy Office

[67] AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 496, Exp. 3, fol. 242r.

was directed principally against the Old Moriscos of Daimiel (although it slightly affected those from Almagro, Bolaños and Aldea del Rey), those of 1595 and 1606 were concentrated mainly on Almagro. Villarrubia is notable for its absence: apparently no denunciations, neither of Old Christian against New Christian (as in Daimiel), nor of Old Morisco against New Morisco (as in Almagro). The low level of inquisitorial activity in the village has to do with quite unimportant matters. Nothing in the trial records of the Inquisition for Villarrubia tells of a village divided or in conflict.

But, how was this possible? It would be tempting to turn to the fact that, of the Five Towns of the Campo de Calatrava, only Villarrubia was a seigniorial town, and it is well known that in general the seigniorial towns enjoyed a greater protection against external forces than the Crown or royal towns. This is, or might be, true for Villarrubia from 1552 onwards when the town was dismembered from the Order of Calatrava and handed over to the Counts of Salinas and Ribadeo. But during the inquisitorial activity that took place between 1538 and 1542 Villarrubia was still a military *Encomienda* and subject therefore to the Crown, just like Daimiel and the other towns which were those that most suffered the attacks of the Holy Office.

One of the reasons for the exceptionality of Villarrubia may have to do with its apparent lack of a religious elite, such as one finds in other towns in New Castile. The conversion of 1502 does appear to have been accepted voluntarily and sincerely, and the socio-economic benefits that flowed from this led to the slow but sure creation of a new elite based on economic wealth and social status. The fact that by the early seventeenth century the Moriscos of Villarrubia counted among their number notaries, university graduates, doctors, teachers, priests, soldiers, and rent stewards, and that in the town hierarchy they occupied the posts of alderman, mayor, procurator, policeman and gaoler, among others, is of itself a good indication of their new confidence, their acceptance by the Old Christians and their assimilation into the wider social fabric of the town.[68]

However it had happened, Villarrubia had managed to achieve, during the sixteenth century, an enviable and uncommon degree of assimilation of its Morisco community, which made up just under one half of the population by the end of the century. This achievement undoubtedly saved the town from the worst effects of the expulsions that would befall

[68] See the review of my book by Mercedes García-Arenal for some acute observations in this regard: *Al-Qantara*, vol. 29 (2008), 237–41, in particular p. 240.

it between 1611 and 1613, and was a fundamental contributor to the fact that Villarrubia continued to be a Morisco town both during and after the expulsions. By the early eighteenth century, the Moriscos were completely assimilated and nobody talked of Old and New Christians any longer.[69]

[69] On the continuance of the Moriscos in Villarrubia, see Trevor J. Dadson, *Los moriscos de Villarrubia de los Ojos* (*siglos XV–XVIII*), op. cit.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MORISCO PROBLEM AND SEVILLE (1480–1610)*

Manuel F. Fernández Chaves & Rafael M. Pérez García**

From Mudejar to Morisco Community

By the late Middle Ages Christian Andalucia boasted only a few Mudejar communities, scattered across several towns along the Guadalquivir valley (Córdoba, Palma del Río, Seville, Écija . . .). Their figures were scarcely significant, and their social and economic import even smaller.[1] In the Cortes of 1480, the Catholic Monarchs launched a new religious policy that ordered Muslims, as well as Jews, to dwell in special neighborhoods, known as *morerías*, separate from the rest of the Christian population, in a more efficient form of segregation than in the medieval past. This move revealed the political will to identify different "others" who lived among "us" Christians. In the framework of an initial process of confessionalization of political power, or perhaps we should say, a firm implementation of the concept of the unified identity of Church and Society, this policy, which had been defined from a legal-constitutional point of view in the *Partida* laws compiled by Alfonso X el Sabio [the Wise] in the thirteenth century, defined "others" by their religious, rather than national, divergence. It set them apart in order to make them visible, identifiable and

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** Translated by Nicola Stapleton.

[1] In 1501, the following numbers of taxpayers (roughly equivalent to heads of household) are documented: 40 in Córdoba; 121 in Palma del Río; 34 in Seville; 17 in Écija. Further south, on the frontier with Granada, 67 in Priego (Córdoba) and 37 in Archidona (Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, Valladolid, 1969, p. 19). Essential to an understanding of late medieval Andalucian Mudejarism, is Manuel González Jiménez, "Los mudéjares andaluces (ss. XIII–XV)," *Andalucía a debate*, Seville, 1994, pp. 121–154.

recognizable. The State thus set in motion an evolutionary process that created a social minority on the basis of the legal and ideological elements available and historically viable. The Muslims were physically gathered together, had new rules created for them and were subjected to a specific type of pressure that united them internally and fenced them in, differentiating and segregating them from their Christian neighbors.[2] Thus, the interference of political power in everyday life shook the "normal" relationship patterns and the customary spaces of social interaction, creating a strained atmosphere that necessarily influenced, sooner or later and by degrees, the entire population's behavioral patterns, personal attitudes towards others and psychological habits. As Norbert Elias pointed out in *The Civilization Process*, "... personality structures and social structures evolve in inextricably related patterns."[3]

This new policy marked the end of an era in which the Christian society had related to the Mudejars in a spirit of respect, embodied in a legal guarantee that precluded forced conversions. It was counterbalanced by surveillance to prevent renegade Christians from converting to Islam, and to implement the ban on sexual relations between Moorish men and Christian women.[4] Likewise, the central authority's interference threatened to render obsolete the arrangements between local notables and Mudejars which had, to some extent, been beneficial to both sides and had allowed certain Mudejar communities to thrive in towns such as Palma del Río[5] (near Córdoba) and La Algaba[6] (near Seville).

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[2] The novelty of enacting this policy of isolation becomes apparent in the light of data reflecting the non-existence of such divides among Christians, Mudejars and Jews in the late Middle Ages. One example comes from the Burgos Synod's statutes of 1411, when the bishop, Don Juan Cabeza de Vaca, explained, "Since contact between the said Jews and Moors and Christians has led to many ugly sins and errors and harm, the Holy Fathers issued the holy decree that Christians must not dwell with Jews or Moors, nor [should Jews and Moors] raise their [Christian] children, nor hold public office, nor reside among Christians. *All of which has not been enforced in this, our bishopric, to this day*," and ordered that the followers of each religion henceforth live separately (Nicolás López Martínez, "Sínodos burgaleses del siglo XV," *Burgense* 7 (1966), p. 290.

[3] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process. Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Oxford, 2000, p. 16.

[4] *Las Siete Partidas*, Partida VII, Título XXV.

[5] José Manuel Calderón Ortega, "El estatuto jurídico de los mudéjares de la villa de Palma en la época bajomedieval: el Fuero de 1371," *Ariadna. Revista de Investigación* 5 (1988), pp. 97–112, and Manuel Nieto Cumplido, *Palma del Río en la Edad Media (855–1503). Señorío de Bocanegra y Portocarrero*, Córdoba, 2004, pp. 278–285.

[6] We are indebted to Klaus Wagner for almost everything we know about the Mudejar community of La Algaba. See Klaus Wagner, *Regesto de documentos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla referentes a judíos y moros*, Salamanca, 1978.

The effect of these segregation measures was inconsistent and mainly linked to urban environments, where they were primarily, if imperfectly, implemented. We know of the existence of two Mudejar *apartamientos* in Seville: Adarviejo, in the San Pedro quarter, consisting of some thirty houses and a mosque; and a secondary *apartamiento* at the opposite end of town, in San Marcos. The Moors were also allocated their own cemetery beyond the city wall, near the Osario Gate, as well as an inn for visiting Moors and Mudejars. Evidence of the presence of Mudejars in different parts of the city, most notably a significant group of potters in Triana,[7] on the opposite bank of the Guadalquivir, shows that the royal segregation policies were only partially effective.[8]

However, this fact did not alter the Mudejars' position as the targets of persistent political decision-making, and hence as the focus of social attention, with a prominent place on the stage of daily affairs. This illustrates one of the key traits of political power: that the consequences of its actions are even greater than the actual measures applied—the phenomenon of social *induction*. The act of fencing people in and pointing one's finger, of surveillance and punishment, induces punitive notions and attitudes among the rest of the population (among "us") towards certain "others" who are perceived as weak or vulnerable. Conversely, the Mudejars' non-compliance with the segregation and enclosure rules was perceived by their Old Christian neighbors as "affront grievance."[9] By disturbing and distorting the existing patterns of social intercourse, political initiatives set in motion a mechanism that altered cultural judgment and interpersonal social perceptions, not necessarily in a rational or planned fashion,[10] producing collective mentality shifts, new psychological

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[7] On the importance of Morisco and Mudejar potters in Seville, see José Gestoso Pérez, *Historia de los barros vidriados sevillanos desde sus orígenes hasta nuestros días*, Seville, 1995 (1st edition 1903).

[8] Regarding the Seville Moriscos c.1500, see the seminal works of Celestino López Martínez, *Mudéjares y moriscos sevillanos*, Seville, 1993; Klaus Wagner, *Regesto de documentos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla referentes a judíos y moros*, Salamanca, 1978; Klaus Wagner, "Un padrón desconocido de los mudéjares de Sevilla y la expulsión de 1502," *Al-Ándalus* 36 (1971), pp. 373–382; Antonio Collantes de Terán, "Los mudéjares sevillanos," *Actas del I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Madrid-Teruel, 1981, pp. 225–235; and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, Valencia, 2009, ch. I.

[9] As stated explicitly in the case of Córdoba in 1490 (Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, pp. 150–151).

[10] Once again, Elias masterfully explains the key to this process: "What poses itself here with regard to the civilizing process is nothing other than the general problem of historical change. Taken as a whole this change is not 'rationally' planned; but neither is it a random coming and going of orderless patterns. How is this possible? How does it happen at all

habits and behavioral transformations. The Mudejars and Muslims living in Seville and the Guadalquivir valley thus went from leading a fairly insignificant existence in sociological terms, to occupying an increasingly defined and substantial place in Christian social imagery. At the time of the Catholic Monarchs, the hitherto irrelevant Mudejar communities of the Guadalquivir valley were gradually being assimilated into the Islamic Other, the arch-enemy of Christian society[11] and became, in the public estimation, both an extension of the Other and part of it. As Isabella and Ferdinand wrote in their 1501 letter to the *corregidor* of Córdoba, in reply to the latter's request for authorization to pressurize the Muslims into conversion, "to that purpose, they must be very well treated and given plenty of gentle reproofs [...] with no pressure whatsoever," but "should they refuse after all to convert of their own will, then you may tell them that they have to leave our kingdoms, for we cannot allow infidels to live in them."[12]

The events of the following years also played an important part in the implementation of these psychological transformations in Christian society. The Granada war (1482–1492), in which Andalusian troops and noblemen played an outstanding and ongoing role,[13] was a harsh, cruel conflict

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that formations arise in the human world that no single human being has intended, and which yet are anything but cloud formations without stability or structure? ... plans and actions, the emotional and rational impulses of individual people, constantly interweave in a friendly or hostile way. This basic tissue resulting from many single plans and actions of people can give rise to changes and patterns that no individual person has planned or created. From this interdependence of people arises an order sui generis, an order more compelling and stronger than the will and reason of the individual people composing it. It is this order of interweaving human impulses and strivings, this social order, which determines the course of historical change ..." (Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, pp. 365–366).

[11] Clearly, the contemporary incarnation and manifestation of Islamic power was the Turkish Empire. The crucial years of the general process of conversion of the Mudejars of the kingdom of Granada and the crown of Castile, one should remember, coincide with the worsening of the Turkish threat in 1499–1502 and the failure of Pope Alexander VI to coordinate the resistance of Christian princes (Ludwig Pastor, *Historia de los Papas*, Barcelona (1911), vol. VI, pp. 29–43). See also Ricardo García Cárcel, "La psicosis del turco en la España del Siglo de Oro," in Felipe B. Pedraza Jiménez y Rafael González Cañal eds., *Los imperios orientales en el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, Ciudad Real, 1994, pp. 15–28, and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, "Entre *Quality Papers* y prensa amarilla: turcos, moriscos y renegados," *Relaciones de sucesos en la BUS, antes de que existiera la prensa ...*, Seville, 2008, pp. 82–94.

[12] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, pp. 315–316 [own trans.].

[13] See Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos*, introduction by Ángel Galán, Málaga, 1991, *passim*. The habitual practice by which troops from Seville and Andalusia played an important part in the intermittent wars with the Islamic kingdom of

that brought home the physical experience of life and death confrontation with the Moor. Such an experience could not but make a significant contribution to the increasing perception of the Moors as the Other, burdening them with the attributes of wickedness and animosity. Not only is war not noble, failing to make men stronger or more virtuous,[14] it also inflicts a definitive change on the personalities of those who take part in it, transforming their sensitivities, psychological reactions and, in particular, perceptual mechanisms vis-à-vis the people they have fought against, that is, those who, like them, experienced the conflict at its most intense. The experience of living through war gives individuals an enormous potential for personal, social and hence historical change that goes far beyond treaty clauses, border readjustments and the creation of a new balance of power at the top. There is no doubt that the war contributed to a shift in the human and vital ties between the two sides, leading to an emotional, as well as physical, separation, and to a strengthening of difference as an important social issue.[15]

A further consequence of the war was the arrival in Seville of new groups of Muslims. Some came as free subjects, thanks to the agreements reached with the conquering authorities.[16] Several thousand others had been taken into slavery during military operations, such as the 10,000 or more prisoners captured at the siege of Granada in 1487, 3,000 of whom were dispersed around Seville and the surrounding area.[17] Those

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Granada was thus perpetuated. Along these lines, see Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, "Un gran concejo andaluz ante la guerra de Granada: Sevilla en tiempos de Enrique IV (1454–1474)," *En la España medieval* 4 (1984), pp. 595–651, and Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Historia de Sevilla. La ciudad medieval* (*1248–1492*), Seville, 1989, pp. 46 y 174–176.

[14] As can be deduced from certain historical cultures of war. See the book by David García Hernán, *La cultura de la guerra y el teatro del Siglo de Oro*, Madrid, 2006.

[15] For a very interesting account of how the exercise of violence puts a strain on relationships and personal lives, see Carl Gustav Jung, *Memories, Dreams, Reflections*, London, 1995.

[16] Such as the group of over thirty Moors from recently-conquered Ronda who established themselves in Seville in 1485 with the authorization of the Catholic Monarchs, although many of them departed for North Africa two years later (Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla . . .*, pp. 104–106).

[17] An abundant bibliography treats the subject of the enslavement of Málaga Moors, as well as their transfer to Seville. This is studied by Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada in: *Castilla y la conquista del Reino de Granada*, Valladolid, 1967, pp. 73–77; *Los mudéjares de Castilla . . .*, pp. 113–114; and "La esclavitud por guerra a fines del siglo XV: el caso de Málaga," *Hispania* 105 (1967), pp. 63–88. See also: Antonio Collantes de Terán, "Los mudéjares sevillanos," pp. 231; E. del Pino, "La esclavitud en Málaga," *Jábega* 14 (1976), pp. 28ff., and, recently, Raul González Arévalo, "Cautivos moros y judíos en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos," *Baetica* 27 (2005), pp. 345–361.

who watched the exile, deportation, slavery and defeat of the Granada Muslims cannot have been indifferent to this spectacle; it must have necessarily influenced their perceptions. The annihilation of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada was not only a military victory or a political success; on an emotional level it meant far more than this to a group of individuals and a society like that of Andalusia, which for over two centuries had lived on the frontier with the Other.

The evangelization strategy developed by Fray Hernando de Talavera, the first Archbishop of Granada, to advance Isabella and Ferdinand's confessionalization project soon proved to be slow and unsatisfactory. Based on dialogue, persuasion and charity, it failed to produce results: after several years of pastoral activity, Granada continued to be Islamic territory. It was therefore not surprising that, in 1499, a new religious policy should be implemented, under the auspices of the Franciscan Archbishop Jimenez Cisneros of Toledo, who by this time had succeeded Talavera in the monarchs' favor. Applying a baptismal and evangelizing theology based on the ideas of another Franciscan, John Duns Scotus (d. 1308),[18] Cisneros was the surgeon who performed the operation of officially extirpating Islam, first from the kingdom of Granada, and then from the rest of the crown of Castile, between 1499 and 1502. In contrast to the strategy of isolating the Other, a new policy was introduced, bearing the stamp of its Franciscan mold and Scotist development: to absorb the Other, using force and coercion if required. This gigantic operation, overseen by the Catholic Monarchs resident in Seville and set and performed in the city of Granada, resulted not in the dissolution of the Other but rather in its consolidation as an alien minority within the social body.[19]

The rebellion of the Albaicín Moors in December 1499 was interpreted by the Crown as a formal rupture and used to justify the abrogation of the terms of surrender agreed by the Moors after the capture of Granada. Referring to these events in a letter to the Cardinal of Santa Cruz, Pedro Mártir de Anglería wrote, in July 1500, that the Moors had embraced baptism in droves, thus gaining forgiveness for "their error," and that despite

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[18] G. Arimón, "El problema del bautismo de los niños infieles. Orientación escotista de la opinión de fray Diego de Deza y Francisco Vitoria. Antecedentes doctrinales y circunstancias históricas," *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 30 (1957), pp. 203–232.

[19] This whole process and the state of affairs in 1499–1502 has been analyzed in detail in Rafael M. Pérez García, "El problema del Islam en la Sevilla del Descubrimiento, 1492–1502: polémica teológica y política religiosa," a paper given at a conference on Christianity and Islam held at Alcala de Henares, 14–15 Novermber 2008 and to be published in the *Actas del VII Congreso Internacional Estudios de Frontera. Islam y Cristiandad. Siglos XI–XVI. Los Banu Said*.

the obvious insincerity of their conversion, as generations came and went, they would effectively distance themselves from Islam.[20] Although Anglería seems to have been expressing his personal opinion, he was in fact accurately presenting Scotus' theological position and the Scotist arguments that had been used on that occasion to justify the Crown's policy.

The process, as usual, was traumatic on both sides of the line that was being drawn with increasing vigor between Christians and Muslims. The people of Seville once more experienced a war in which thousands of their men participated and many were massacred in the notorious episode of Sierra Bermeja in March 1501.[21] On the other side of the scales, a steady flow of Moorish slaves had been making its way from Granada to Seville since the previous year, bearing the spoils of King Ferdinand's campaign in the Alpujarras.[22]

The Mudejar world sang its swan song in February 1502. In Seville, over the following weeks, a considerable number of Mudejars were baptized as a result of generalized conversion, driven by the forced choice between Christianity and expulsion. This was a small population—around two hundred individuals who were mainly attached to the building, pottery and craft trades, but also, since the thirteenth century, to the maintenance of Seville's essential water supply infrastructures,[23] such as the aqueduct known as Caños de Carmona and the Alcázar. In the late Middle Ages, these Seville Mudejars had coexisted with hundreds of Muslim slaves

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[20] Pedro Mártir de Anglería, "Epistolario", *Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España*, Madrid (1953), vol. IX, p. 409, regarding the Moriscos of Albaicin: "To punish their faults the law of choosing between the death penalty or baptism has been applied to them. They have all been baptized, as the Archbishop of Toledo advised the Monarchs, so that they would not be lost. You will no doubt object that they will continue to live in the same state of mind regarding their Muhammad, as is a logical and reasonable suspicion. It is difficult, indeed, to abandon the institutions of one's ancestors. Nevertheless, I consider that it was very wise and provident to agree to his [Cisneros'] petitions, for by imposing the new discipline bit by bit, the young, or at least the children, and with even greater certainty the current generation of grandchildren, will begin to free themselves of these vain superstitions and to absorb the new rites, which I do not expect to occur among the old with hardened souls."

[21] Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla*, Madrid, Imprenta Real, 1796, vol. III, p. 181; Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, *Guerra de Granada*, Bernardo Blanco-González ed., Madrid, 1970, pp. 102–103; Andrés Bernáldez, *Memorias del reinado de los Reyes Católicos*, Madrid, 1962, pp. 396–399; Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo, *Batallas y quinquagenas*, Madrid, 1983, vol. I, pp. 290–291.

[22] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, p. 336.

[23] Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, "El trabajo de los mudéjares en el abastecimiento de agua a la Sevilla bajomedieval: los moros cañeros y el acueducto de los caños de Carmona," *VI Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel, 1995, pp. 231–255.

from North Africa and the kingdom of Granada, who served in the houses of the city's wealthy classes and craftsmen.[24] Added to these, in the years preceding 1502, many free Moors and slaves from Granada had arrived in Seville as settlers or traders; from 1497 they were joined by a number of Portuguese Moors who had availed themselves of the Catholic Monarchs' authorization to settle in their kingdoms.[25] The Mudejars of Seville also maintained a close relationship with their sister communities in rural La Algaba, in nearby towns such as Écija, Niebla and Alcalá del Río, and also in more distant, but no less significant, towns like Hornachos, in the south of Extremadura, where a far reaching and active Muslim commercial and cultural-religious network was based and remained operational up to the expulsion, in 1610.[26]

The diversity described above not only survived 1502 but grew wider after general conversion. In the first few decades of the sixteenth century, Moriscos arrived in Seville not only from Granada but from towns further afield, like Ávila, lured by the opportunities offered by an abundant and growing trade with the West Indies, where many Moriscos migrated, despite being forbidden to do so by the Crown.[27] Descendants of the Palma del Río Mudejars also came to Seville. They included the Gonzalez family, who were convicted of Lutheranism by the Seville Inquisition between 1559 and 1562. In addition, many North African Moors had crossed the strait to embrace the Christian faith, such as the converts known as Gaspar, Melchor, Baltasar and Juan Bautista, who "originated in the Kingdom of Fez, of Moorish parentage" and were christened in the parish church of Sagrario in Seville on 3 July 1547. The astonished priest added these words to the parish record: "This is recorded so it may be remembered [...] and to give clear evidence to all that our Lord has worked a miracle by giving these the Grace to receive baptismal water and become Christians."[28]

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[24] Alfonso Franco Silva, *La esclavitud en Sevilla y su tierra a fines de la Edad Media*, Seville 1979 and, by the same author, *Regesto documental sobre la esclavitud sevillana (1453–1513)*, Seville, 1979.

[25] Miguel Ángel Ladero Quesada, *Los mudéjares de Castilla en tiempos de Isabel I*, pp. 213–214.

[26] Alberto González Rodríguez, *Hornachos, enclave morisco*, Mérida (1990). To understand Morisco networks, the magnificent work of Serafín de Tapia Sánchez is essential reading: "Las redes comerciales de los moriscos de Castilla la Vieja: un vehículo para sus 'complicidades,' " *Studia historia. Historia Moderna* 9 (1993), pp. 231–243.

[27] Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad morisca de Ávila*, Salamanca, 1991, pp. 515–517 y 328–331.

[28] Archivo de la Parroquia del Sagrario (Seville): Libro de bautismo 3, f. 176v. [own trans.]

Others also converted to Christianity in the Spanish outposts in North Africa before traveling to Seville.[29] The greatest increase in the Morisco and Muslim population of Seville in the seventy years following 1502, however, was due to the arrival of thousands of North African slaves (from Barbary, Tunis, Béjaïa, Tripoli, Oran, Melilla, Fes, Agadir etc.), some of whom eventually agreed to being baptized. The fact that receiving the sacrament was a necessary condition for regaining freedom must have encouraged many slaves to comply.[30] A great many cases of Morisco slaves sold in Seville are documented in the city's notarial records for the middle decades of the sixteenth century,[31] including many individuals referred to as "blancos" [whites], an attribute that was usually applied to North African Muslims.[32] An indication of the size of the slave population, both North African and Morisco, in Seville and the Andalusian lowlands during this period can be inferred from the hundreds of such individuals, chiefly women, who were put aboard ships at Seville en route to New Spain and Peru.[33] The predominance of slaves among the Morisco population of the city, far more numerous than the descendants of Mudejars, gradually generated a social image which associated the terms "Morisco" and "slave" to

[29] Such as Francisco de Meneses, who went to Tangier "from the land of the Moors to turn Christian of his own will," and who is known to have lived in the town of Castilblanco around 1561 (Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, leg. 14254, f. 511r–512v).

[30] Alfonso Franco Silva, "La esclavitud en Sevilla entre 1526 y 1550," *Archivo hispalense* 61 (1988), pp. 77–91 and, by the same author, "Los negros libertos en las sociedades andaluzas entre los siglos XV al XVI," in María Desamparados Martínez San Pedro, *Los marginados en el mundo medieval y moderno*, Almería, 2000, pp. 51–64.

[31] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, legs. 3392, 12345, 12346, for instance.

[32] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, legs. 12316, 12322, 12342, 12350, 2301, 10584, etc.

[33] Jaime Cáceres Enríquez, "La mujer morisca o esclava blanca en el Perú del siglo XVI," *Sharq al-Andalus* 12 (1995), pp. 565–574; Antonio Garrido Aranda, "El morisco y la Inquisición novohispana (actitudes antiislámicas en la sociedad colonial)," in *Andalucía y América en el siglo XVI*, Seville, 1983, pp. 501–533. A thorough review of sixteenth-century legal dispositions that mentioned the presence of Moriscos and Berbers in Spanish America, as well as those concerning their ban on entry (and that of black people raised with Moors or Moriscos) in the New World, can be found in Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *Regulación de la esclavitud negra en las colonias de América española (1503–1886): Documentos para su estudio*, Alcalá de Henares, 2005, pp. 31, 50, 76, 78, 128, etc. The presence of Mudejar art in the New World may also reflect, at least partially, the early passage of Moriscos to America (see *El mudéjar iberoamericano: del Islam al Nuevo Mundo* [Exhibition catalogue], Málaga 1995, pp. 63–85). See also Santiago Sebastián, "Pervivencias hispanomusulmanas en Hispanoamérica," *Actas I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, pp. 509–516, and Guadalupe Avilez Moreno, "El arte mudéjar en Nueva España en el Siglo XVI. Elementos arquitectónicos," *Anuario de estudios americanos* 37 (1980), pp. 649–663.

such an extent that free Moriscos felt the need to clarify their status when appearing in public.[34]

Thus in Seville, in the early sixteenth century, the epithet "Morisco" concealed a very large variety of personal situations: freemen, slaves and freed slaves originating from Seville, from other towns or villages in Andalusia or Castile, or from North Africa; and individuals who embraced Christianity of their own accord, as opposed to those who were merely descendants of those who had converted one or two generations earlier. Their average socio-economic profile was fairly humble: among the free people we find laborers, small retailers, bakers, builders and potters. Some of these even had slaves themselves (black Africans, Berbers, people of mixed race and even other Moriscos),[35] despite royal legislation against it,[36] and despite the low income and personal asset levels[37] which are generally found in populations that live mainly in rented accommodation.[38] As may be expected, before 1569 the Moriscos of Seville tended to associate with people of low social status, including those who were black or of mixed race, Berbers, servants and other workers of various kinds.

We are still a long way from being able to resolve the issue of how these individuals became integrated into a predominantly Christian society, and whether they underwent or performed a process of cultural adaptation and assimilation. The fact is that the Moriscos were subjected to great violence and coercion, which materialized out of the war, slavery, conversion and the activities of the Seville Holy Office. Although most of the documentation of Seville's Inquisitorial Court prior to 1560 has been

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[34] Thus, for example, Duarte de Herrera said in 1551 that he was "*a free Morisco man*," and Francisco de Herrera and Diego de Osuna were called "*free Moriscos*" in various notarial documents; likewise, the Morisca Inés de la Torre declared herself a "*free woman*" in 1565 (Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, leg. 12343, fol. 718r; leg. 16035, fol. 297r–v; leg. 12383, fol. 44r).

[35] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, legs. 121, 124, 12340, 16035, 16036, 17607, 17608, 19968.

[36] Legislation on this matter is well presented in José Luis Cortés López, "Los moriscos y sus esclavos negros," *Pliegos de encuentro islamo-cristiano* 17 (1992), pp. 19–24, and in Aurelia Martín Casares, "Moriscos propietarios de personas esclavizadas en Granada a lo largo del siglo XVI", *Chronica Nova* 24 (1997), pp. 215–216. An essential source is, undoubtedly, Mármol's account of the problem of Morisco possession of black slaves in the Cortes of Toledo of 1560, in the Junta de Madrid of 1566 and in the Muley memorandum (see Luis del Mármol Carvajal, *Rebelión y castigo de los moriscos*, lib. II, caps. III, VI y IX).

[37] See, for instance, Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, legs. 98, 9805, 9836, 12383, 19968.

[38] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, legs. 98, 11575, 12331, 12354.

destroyed, there is evidence of specific interventions against them, such as the "two Moriscos branded on the face" who were reconciled in the auto-da-fé of 4 February 1524,[39] the ten who were burned at the stake for sodomy (a typically Islamic sin in medieval Christian imagery)[40] in April 1540,[41] or the 17 Moriscos, eight of them with their wives, who were convicted in the auto-da-fé of 1545, and who included one potter and four slaves.[42] Physical violence alternated with judicial violence or with the threat of more violence amidst spurious offers of social assimilation. An example of the latter is the Edict of Grace issued in July 1548 by the Seville Inquisition, offering Moriscos amnesty for their past errors and a guarantee of ownership rights, while simultaneously promoting the break up of their internal solidarity networks by encouraging mixed marriages with Old Christians and ordering Moriscos to live apart from one another.[43]

Out of the approximately fifty Moriscos convicted in Seville by the Holy Office between 1559 and 1564, the majority were slaves who had attempted to regain their freedom by fleeing to Barbary and/or Moriscos who had reconverted to Islam. All but a few of them were North African Moors who had been forcibly transported to Seville and whose Muslim past was still fresh in their memories. A crypto-Islamic world lived on among them in appalling social conditions.[44]

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[39] Klaus Wagner, "La Inquisición en Sevilla (1481–1524). Notas al margen de las actas notariales del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla referentes a los autos de fe celebrados en dicha ciudad," *Homenaje al Profesor Carriazo*, Sevilla, 1973, vol. III, pp. 440–460.

[40] See John V. Tolan: *Sarracenos. El Islam en la imaginación medieval europea*, Valencia (2007). For the Spanish case in the first third of the sixteenth century, see Rafael M. Pérez García, "Francisco de Osuna y las religiones. Judaísmo, Islam, Filosofía y Conversos en torno a la espiritualidad franciscana (c. 1492–1542)," to be published in the *Actas del XIV Curso de Verano "El Franciscanismo en Andalucía. Perfiles y figuras del franciscanismo andaluz"* proceedings of a conference held in Priego de Córdoba, July 2008, and Rafael M. Pérez García, "El problema del Islam en la Sevilla del Descubrimiento, 1492–1502: polémica teológica y política religiosa," to be published in *VII Congreso Internacional Estudios de Frontera. Islam y Cristiandad. Siglos XI–XVI. Los Banu Said*, proceedings from a conference held in Alcalá la Real, November 2008.

[41] Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, leg. 4920.

[42] Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid): Inquisición, libro 785, f. 227, in Michel Boeglin, "De Granada a Sevilla: Itinerario y destino de la minoría morisca en la Bética," *Sharq al-Andalus* 18 (2003–2007), p. 75.

[43] Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid): Inquisición, libro 1254, in Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The handless maiden. Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, Princeton, 2005, pp. 69 y 137.

[44] Inquisitorial information held in the British Library, ms. Add. 21447 and the Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid): Inquisición, leg. 2075.

Paradoxically, in a city where Mudejar architecture was conspicuous in every church and palace[45] and Morisco fashion was sported by the wealthy classes,[46] from the end of the fifteenth century and throughout the following decades, the Morisco minority, which had been constructed socially and politically by clustering diverse groups together, internalized an awareness of its marginal status in society and of its condition as a people living in a life threatening situation. As Elias explains, "external social coercion gradually turns into internal coercion in various ways," condemning those who suffer from it to "continuous self-restraint," emotional repression and feelings of shame.[47] In this psychosocial climate, a relevant, symptomatic anecdote is provided by Belgian humanist Clènard who, on arrival in Seville in 1539, sought answers to his queries on Arabic grammar by consulting a recently converted Morisco physician who worked as a potter in Triana:

> Since my arrival in Seville I had been combing the potteries and I eventually found the old potter at work, his arms covered in clay. But he refused to teach me, with the excuse that he was old, that he had too many duties already—he also practiced as a physician in Triana, one of Seville's quarters—and that he had no time for me. However, having persuaded my host, Don Fernando [Columbus], on whose initiative I had traveled to Spain, I moved heaven and earth to persuade the potter-cum-physician to make room for me among his crocks and, changing his attitude, to reply to my queries. But we never managed to agree. The man gave me a valid reason: he argued that, although he belonged to the Moorish nation, he was a true Christian; that he did not wish to reveal any signs of his former belief; that he wanted to avoid being punished if he started to teach me, whether in his home or in his workshop; that he had only just converted but nonetheless, due to his way of life, hardly anybody thought him to be of foreign origin and he did not wish to compromise his good reputation.[48]

To distance oneself from one's origin, to make this distance clear to others—people one is afraid of and seeks to identify oneself with—this, in

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[45] Diego Angulo Íñiguez, *Arquitectura mudéjar sevillana de los siglos XIII, XIV y XV*, Seville, 1983.

[46] Carmen Bernis, "Modas moriscas en la sociedad cristiana española del siglo XV y principios del XVI," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 144 (1959), pp. 199–228, and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, Valencia, 2009, chapters I and II.

[47] Norbert Elias, *The civilizing process*, p. 449.

[48] A. Roersch (ed.): *Correspondance de Nicolas Clènard*, Brussels (1940–1941), 3 vols, vol. I, pp. 151–152 and 34–49, quoted in Luis García Ballester, *Los moriscos y la medicina. Un capítulo de la medicina y la ciencia marginadas en la España del siglo XVI*, Barcelona, 1984, p. 34. [own trans.]

fact, is what social integration is about. This psychosocial situation is very well expressed by one Don Felipe de Austria, a Morisco from Fez, who also lived in the Seville quarter of Triana and who, on hearing the news of the Morisco rebellion in the Alpujarras over Christmas 1568, hurried to the Mayor of Seville to warn him that there was "such a multitude of Moriscos" in the city "that they ought to be taken in hand and visited to find out how they live and trade so that no harm may befall this city" and that "he wanted to serve in the Granada war against such infidels."[49] Undoubtedly, feelings of shame were an important part of the life experience for many Seville Moriscos before 1569, especially second-, third- or fourth-generation Moriscos. It is what Norbert Elias would have described as:

> fear of social degradation [...] of other people's gestures of superiority. But it is a form of displeasure or fear which arises characteristically on those occasions when a person who fears lapsing into inferiority can avert this danger neither by direct physical means nor by any other form of attack [...] The conflict expressed in shame-fear is not merely a conflict of the individual with prevalent social opinion; the individual's behavior has brought him into conflict with the part of himself that represents this social opinion. It is a conflict within his own personality; he himself recognizes himself as inferior.[50]

Another War and Rebuilding a Morisco Minority in Seville, 1569–1610

The last of the Morisco uprisings in the kingdom of Granada against their Castilian invaders took place over Christmas in 1568 and turned into a long and costly bloodbath whose final spasms were felt in 1571 and whose echoes could still be heard for several years around the caves and natural shelters where *monfies* (Moorish highwaymen) and desperadoes found refuge. The war was triggered by the Crown's decision to implement the ban on Morisco cultural traditions, which had been deferred for forty years in exchange for a payment in services, as a result of a renewable agreement negotiated by the Morisco elite in 1526. When this agreement expired in 1566, Philip II refused to defer the prohibition any further. This move

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[49] On this Don Felipe de Austria, see Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla: Protocolos Notariales, leg. 11575, as well as Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, pp. 56–57.

[50] Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, p. 415.

marked the end of tolerance towards Morisco customs and lifestyle with regard to dress, bathing, the Arabic language and other cultural traits.

The war of 1569–1570[51] brought about the physical destruction of most of the kingdom of Granada, including towns and villages, fields and populations. The city of Seville contributed to this devastation by maintaining a constant contingent of 2,000 infantry and 200 cavalry soldiers for two years, not forgetting an imprecise but significant number of adventurers, ruffians and fortune-seeking *hidalgos*. During this time, continuous levies were raised in every quarter of the city and nearby villages. Seville's troops fought in several military operations in the Granada lowlands and in the regions of Albuñuelas, Alpujarras, Sierra de Ronda, etc. In the course of this extraordinarily bloody war, Seville's population suffered tragic losses; as the Sevillian historian Alonso Morgado put it, "many brave and dauntless Sevillians sacrificed their lives in manly combat."[52]

Throughout the war Seville watched as its men departed for battle, as hundreds of deserters fled, and as the massive booty seized in the systematic plunder of the kingdom of Granada began to arrive in the city. Cattle, clothing, jewelry and all manner of portable goods were stolen by troops that had remained in the front, lured by the promise of riches.[53] But the most profitable business that issued from this brutal war was the enslavement of the Granada Moriscos. Based on the reports of the chronicler Mármol Carvajal, it has been reckoned that a minimum of 25,000 Moriscos were enslaved in the course of the war, especially women and children.[54] The great military operations (Inox, Frigiliana, Galera, etc.) and the great campaigns in which the Christian armies marched across

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[51] There have been several excellent syntheses of this war: Julio Caro Baroja (1957), *Los moriscos del reino de Granada. Ensayo de Historia Social*, Madrid (2003), chapter VI; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 35–50; and Bernard Vincent, "Economía y sociedad en el Reino de Granada," in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz dir., *Historia de Andalucía*, Madrid (1983), vol. IV, pp. 191–203. A recent addition to these classics is the account written by the undisputed historian of this conflict, Valeriano Sánchez Ramos, "La guerra de las Alpujarras (1568–1570)," in Manuel Barrios Aguilera ed., *Historia del Reino de Granada*, Granada, 2000, vol. II, pp. 507–542.

[52] Alonso de Morgado, *Historia de Sevilla*, Seville, 1587, f. 89r. [own trans.]

[53] The role of Seville and its troops in the Granada war and its sacking are addressed in Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, chapter II.

[54] Juan Aranda Doncel, *Los moriscos en tierras de Córdoba*, Córdoba, 1984, pp. 128–134. Bear in mind that the Moriscos living in the kingdom of Granada in the 1560s numbered roughly 160,000, as can be inferred from Bernard Vincent's data in "Economía y sociedad en el Reino de Granada," in Antonio Domínguez Ortiz dir., *Historia de Andalucía*, Madrid, 1983, vol. IV, pp. 183–184.

wide regions of the realm, such as the Alpujarras or Cenete, brought in thousands of slaves.[55] Thus an active trade in people was created, channeling its merchandise towards the Guadalquivir valley, where hundreds or even thousands of Moriscos were sold in towns and villages during this period.

A thorough investigation of Seville's notarial protocols has yielded the figure of over 800 Morisco slaves from Granada being sold in that city between 1569 and 1571, but this number may be extrapolated to the 1,500 or 2,000 slaves taken to Seville as a result of the war. Bearing in mind that a relatively significant enfranchisement process took place in the following years, only data in this sort of range would match the figures shown in the headcounts of 1580 and 1589. A census of Moriscos compiled in the city of Seville in June 1580 gives a figure of 1,083 slaves, out of a total of 6,247 Moriscos.[56] By 1589, the number of Morisco slaves had decreased to 408 out of 6,406 individuals,[57] which accounts for 5.5% of the city's total population at the time.[58]

Two thirds of the slave population were female, and two thirds of the males were under twenty years of age. Only a fifth of the slave population was over thirty years old, which reveals a very high mortality rate among adults, parallel to the shockingly high figure found among children under ten. Thus the slave population's profile can be defined as young and female: the men had been massacred in the war, and mature adults, elderly people and children found it very difficult to overcome the harrowing situations they had lived through, which included battles, deportations, abuse, hunger and disease. Many survivors arrived sick and crippled in Seville, and many more had had their faces or bodies branded with iron to identify them as slaves. Over the next two decades many Morisco slaves regained their liberty—mainly by judicial channels, in the case of illegal slavery, or by buying their own freedom—which considerably reduced their numbers. Nevertheless, the ordeals of subjugation, uncertainty, brutality and loss of freedom branded forever a large proportion of the

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55 A detailed study of some of these campaigns can be found in Valeriano Sánchez Ramos, *El II marqués de los Vélez y la guerra contra los moriscos, 1568–1571*, Vélez Rubio y Berja, 2002.

56 Archivo General de Simancas: Consejo Real, leg. 257, expediente 4.

57 Archivo General de Simancas: Cámara de Castilla, leg. 2196.

58 Cf. Tomás González, *Censo de población de las provincias y partidos de la corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI*, Madrid, 1829, p. 334; Francisco Morales Padrón, *Historia de Sevilla. La ciudad del Quinientos*, Seville, 1989, p. 65; Fernand Braudel, *El Mediterráneo y el mundo mediterráneo en la época de Felipe II*, México, 2005, vol. I, p. 536.

Morisco population that had been conveyed to Seville from every corner of the kingdom of Granada.[59]

From 1569 onwards, other groups of deported Moriscos began to establish themselves in Seville side by side with the slaves. The first contingent arrived in the summer of 1569 and were some of the 3,500–4,000 that had been forcibly evicted from the Albaicín quarter in Granada by the troops of Don Juan de Austria and marched in columns, under the watchful eyes of soldiers, to various Andalusian cities, including Córdoba, Osuna, Carmona and Seville. March 1570 saw the deportation of "peaceful Moriscos"[60] from the Axarquía region in Málaga, bringing over a thousand individuals from the villages of Comares and El Borge to Seville. A large number of them were subsequently dispersed over the towns and villages around Seville, the Aljarafe region and the mountains on the Portuguese border, although many perished on the way. Extant documentation from that period informs us that they were poor, since they had not been able to bring their possessions with them, and *"encoraxinados"* [angry], owing to the ill treatment meted out on them. Finally, on 22 November 1570, the largest group of deportees—around five thousand Moriscos from the Almería region—arrived at the port of Seville aboard galleys, in terribly overcrowded conditions and suffering from typhoid and undernourishment. An appalling number of them died in the following weeks, while the rest suffered abuse at the hands of the townspeople, some of whom tried to take possession or advantage of them. The Jesuit Martín de Roa has left us a description of this human drama:

> they brought Spain's galleys to Seville with an abundance of Moriscos who, due to the ill treatment received from soldiers and the townspeople's hostile reception (who hated them to death because of the recent memory of the wars and the grief many of them felt on account of their kinsmen who had lost their lives) fell seriously ill and died without human care. Finding themselves in a strange land, among offended people, dispossessed of their wealth and with no money or advocate, they suffered from neglect while nobody took pity on them. They could not help one another because they all suffered equally from poverty and squalor, and disease.[61]

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[59] In Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, chapter III, we have undertaken a documented, extensive and exhaustive analysis of the subject of Morisco slavery in Seville.

[60] These were the Moriscos who did not join the rebellion, but were treated by the monarchy as rebels, being deported and their goods confiscated.

[61] Martín de Roa, *Historia de la Provincia de Andalucía de la Compañía de Jesús (1553–1662)*, Écija 2005, p. 198. [own trans.]

A thousand Almería Moriscos died of typhoid and other diseases in the space of a month. In December, a further 1,300 were taken to the mountain towns of Aracena, Cazalla de la Sierra, Constantina, Alanís and El Pedroso. Many of them died on the way, some of starvation—Andalusia was in the grips of an appalling famine—and some of exposure, in this particularly harsh winter. The remaining 900 were shared out among the Christians living in the towns and villages, who were charged with their safekeeping. A further thousand were sheltered in a makeshift hospital run by the Jesuits in Triana and in several smaller facilities in the center of Seville. The wretchedness of their situation did not prevent an outburst of popular violence as the Jesuits were transferring them to hospital. But for the Jesuits' intervention, the Moriscos would have been flung, along with their stretchers, into the river Guadalquivir.

The joint effect of all these negative factors was a significant reduction in the number of people from Almería living in Seville. According to an official count dating from April 1571, the free Morisco population had by this time shrunk considerably in comparison to the initial figure, and were settled in two main areas out of walls: Triana and San Bernardo, where 1,754 individuals are recorded. The only Moriscos living in the inner city parishes were those who had been entrusted to Old Christians (562 individuals) and the numerous contingent of war slaves. In the following months and years this figure grew spectacularly for several reasons: the Crown's decision to relocate other groups of Moriscos back to Seville, such as the several hundred, originally from Malaga and Granada, who had initially been allocated to Carmona, Écija and Antequera and were sent back to Seville in 1571, 1579 and 1584 respectively; and the spontaneous movement of scores of Moriscos who, with or without permission, left the towns where they had initially settled, and headed for Seville, in search of better economic prospects and the anonymity and freedom of a large city. The net result was that, by 1580, a substantial Morisco minority of Granadan origin had collected in Seville, numbering 6,247 individuals according to an official count, including a few who dwelt in the nearby towns of Espartinas and Bollullos. Of that figure, 1,083 were slaves.[62]

Unfortunately, detailed breakdowns of these data have survived from only seven of the city's parishes,[63] but this does not prevent us from forming a fairly accurate idea of the socio-demographic features of this Morisco population. They were mainly concentrated in areas outside the city wall,

[62] Archivo General de Simancas: Consejo Real, leg. 257, expediente 4.
[63] Archivo Municipal de Sevilla: Diversos 104/1580.

such as San Bernardo and Santa María de los Ángeles, where whole families had been resettled in 1569–1571; a fairly large number lived in the humble parishes to the North of the city, such as San Gil. Among the latter groups we perceive the beginning of a slow process of family reconstruction, through marriage and procreation, that allowed the Moriscos to overcome the disarray into which they had been thrown by war and deportation. Finally, in the wealthier parishes of the city center, such as San Andrés or San Ildefonso, there were numerous single and childless slaves or servants, mainly women.

Even at this late date, and despite the fact that in the immediately preceding years the number of births had been increasing, the after-effects of the war could still be felt: a predominance of women, a shortage of men, generational gaps caused by war mortality, etc. This reality hindered their recovery in human and demographic terms.

The process of arrival and settlement of the Moriscos from the kingdom of Granada was a complex one, and so were the different legal, personal and socio-economic circumstances that they had brought with them. This created an extremely diverse urban minority: Moriscos could be free or slaves; of rural or urban origin; from Granada, Málaga or Almería; in different degrees of relationship and dependence as regards the Old Christians; with or without the resources to begin a new life, and so on. Such a wide range of starting positions produced an equally large variety of responses to the inevitable social immersion and acculturation processes that were put in place by the authorities: the Crown and city council on the political side, the church and religious orders on the religious side, and the Inquisition as a hybrid of the other two powers.

The year 1580 marks the first milestone from which we can look more deeply into the circumstances surrounding this social minority at the time. Despite evidence of a process of demographic normalization and the fact that the general distribution of the Morisco population in different areas of the city did not change substantially until their expulsion, ten years after the war we find a downtrodden population that is still subject to slavery, dependence and servitude, and segregated from the Christian majority by a deep mental and emotional chasm. Similarly, the spaces the Moriscos contrived to keep safe and independent are "outside," beyond the walls of the city and of urban society. This challenging reality is what lies behind the notoriously rebellion plot of 1580,[64] a phantasmagorical

[64] See Bernard Vincent, "Les rumeurs de Séville," *Vivir el Siglo de Oro. Poder, cultura e Historia en la época moderna. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez*,

conspiracy that foolishly tried to lead the Granada Moriscos living in the cities of the Guadalquivir valley—Seville, Córdoba, Écija—in a renewed fight for freedom. Deep down, this was nothing but a naive projection of old dreams of revenge, a pointless ritual of inversion which, had it taken place, would inevitably have ended in yet another Morisco massacre. In the hours after the plot was discovered, soldiers serving in the galleys moored on the Guadalquivir attempted to kidnap large numbers of Moriscos from the suburbs of Triana and San Bernardo, many of whom took to the fields to escape abduction and looting—yet another example of the Moriscos' instability in the city.

Nevertheless, the year 1580 also marks the beginning of a period of change. On the one hand, a new generation of people "of Granada origin" had been born and bred in Seville, increasingly distant and far removed from the Islamic structures that had ruled their family, social and productive lives in Granada until 1569–1570. On the other hand, many Moriscos had continued to suffer from different degrees of isolation, dependency and family break-up for two, three or even four decades, and this had helped to bring about a process of acculturation in many that was difficult to resist.

The various religious and political powers—the Crown, the city authorities, the Inquisition and the Church[65]—actively supported this development although, in fact, it ran along social rather than political lines. At any rate, the Moriscos' reactions to it were, as can be expected, very diverse. These included an acceptance (or even hyper-acceptance) of the New Christian political-religious identity, an imperfect, creative or distorted acculturation that mingled Christian and Islamic elements of various

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Salamanca, 2003, pp. 165–177; and Celestino López Martínez, *Mudéjares y moriscos sevillanos*, Seville, 1993, pp. 69–84.

[65] Michel Boeglin has studied the actions of the Seville Inquisition regarding the Moriscos in *Inquisición y Contrarreforma. El Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Sevilla (1560–1700)*, Seville, 2006, and *L'inquisition espagnole au lendemain du Concile de Trente. Le tribunal du Saint-Office de Séville* (*1560–1700*), Montpellier, 2003, as well as the situation of the Moriscos under the crossfire of different authorities (Michel Boeglin, "Conjonction de pouvoirs et désarticulation des réseaux de croyants: les morisques à Séville (1560–1610)," in M.C. Barbazza & C. Heusch, *Actes du Colloque International "Familles, Pouvoirs, Solidarités. Domaine méditerraneen et hispano-américain* (*XVe–XXe siècle*)," Montpellier, 2002, pp. 237–263). All these works have been republished in several congresses and reviews. We have ourselves examined the role of the Church in Rafael M. Pérez García and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, "La Iglesia y los moriscos en Sevilla. El retroceso de una frontera cultural (1569–1609)," *Iglesias y fronteras. V Jornadas de Historia en la Abadía*, Jaén, 2005, pp. 621–631. In addition, we have addressed this issue much more extensively in our book, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, chapters VI and VII.

sorts, a visceral rejection leading to the adoption of crypto-Muslim identities, or any one of a chaotic array of responses, including the adoption on occasion of a crypto-Jewish identity.[66]

From Social Fracture to New Definition of the "Morisco" in Urban Practice and in Political Discourse

The dispersal of the Moriscos throughout Castile gave rise to a new minority whose younger members grew up in a very different environment from their parents. As a group, these people of Granadan origin became integrated into mainstream society to a greater or lesser extent, and had a certain capacity for political negotiation, acquired by means of monetary donations to the Crown. However, this relative advantage did not give them control over their social and political image, which was created, with no intervention on their part, by two lines of discourse that were very distant from each other in origin, but which, by the final expulsion phase in 1610, had converged: political and poetic.

Moriscos in literature fall into two basic paradigms: the villager, whose speech is often caricatured, such as Alcuzcuz in Calderon's *Love after Death*, and who shares the stage with darker, more threatening characters, such as *monfies* and corsairs; and the high-status Morisco, who has been assimilated into Castilian society, making the behavioral norms of the victors his own, a decision that dignifies his kin, as do the relationships he builds with the upper echelons of Castilian society.[67] This figure is a direct descendent of the Moor from the Granadan frontier who tends to appear next to his humbler coreligionist in "comedias de moros," in which "the final days of the Nasrid kingdom of Granada express more fascination

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[66] See Rafael M. Pérez García, "Adaptaciones culturales en el seno de una minoría social: los moriscos en Andalucía Occidental," *Actas del Congreso Internacional "Andalucía Barroca,"* Sevilla, 2008, vol. II., pp. 183–195.

[67] María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, "El morisco ahidalgado en las letras del Siglo de Oro" in the same author's *Vidas fronterizas en las letras españolas*, Bellaterra, 2005, pp. 73–90, and here, p. 78. An approximation to the elites of Granada can be found in the articles of Soria Mesa, particularly Enrique Soria Mesa, "Don Alonso de Granada Venegas y la rebelión de los moriscos. Correspondencia y mercedes de don Juan de Austria," in *Chronica Nova* 21 (1993–1994), pp. 547–560, as well as "Una versión genealógica del ansia integradora de la élite morisca: El *Origen de la Casa de Granada*," *Sharq al-Andalus* 12 (1995), pp. 213–221. See also Camilo Álvarez de Morales, "Notas de oligarquía morisca granadina. La familia Ferí," *Sharq al-Andalus*, 14–15 (1997–1998), pp. 155–176.

than hostility towards that "Other." A clear desire to capture the image of the noble Moor is attributed to the Christian characters that both poet and audience sympathise with."[68]

This chivalrous and exotic image of the Moor coexists with a more aggressive political discourse in which the profile of the Morisco, his descendant, is far closer to the Other that arose from the demise of the Kingdom of Granada as an independent political entity. This is the case of nearly all the Moriscos depicted in the work of Cervantes, coinciding with the political discourse and focusing on assimilation, thus reflecting the diversity of this minority.[69]

The "noble Moor," with whom Don Felipe de Austria (that Morisco from Fez who offered his services to fight against the Moriscos in 1569) could identify, has a larger share of the stage than the deported Morisco. He was very popular among Castilian rulers and, despite the fact that some of his representatives betrayed the Crown in the Alpujarras uprising, he continued to be the main catalyst of Morisco integration, although after the war he would no longer be the only interlocutor for the Morisco population. His role remained important but declined after the war, with the loss of his material base and the subsequent rise of other families in the new environment, in this case Seville, who embraced the new opportunities and new masters who emerged in the city, in a process that is not yet well understood.[70] Thus, new blood was injected into the Morisco population in the course of its stay in Seville, with the formation of different cultural patterns while, simultaneously, the younger elements renewed the Morisco social body, which took on Castilianized, and hitherto unknown, traits. One of the consequences of the 1580 uprising, which had been timed to make the most of the drain on military and other resources caused by the annexation of Portugal, was to estrange the uprooted Moriscos from

[68] María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, "La frontera en la comedia de Lope de Vega," *Vidas fronterizas en las letras españolas*, Bellaterra, 2005, pp. 179–162 (p. 179). Lope de Vega described the Moor Gomel, son of a Christian woman and a Moor thus: "For in order to be a hearty Christian gentleman it is plain that he must have something of the Moor in him and for a Moor it is a treasure to have something of the Christian in him." Ibid., p. 183. [own trans.]

[69] On Cervantes' discourse, a representative work is Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)*, Madrid, 1981, and, by the same autor, "El morisco Ricote o la hispana razón de Estado," *Personajes y temas del "Quijote,"* Madrid, 1975.

[70] On the role of Morisco elites in North Africa, see Beatriz Alonso Acero, *Sultanes de Berbería en tierras de la Cristiandad: exilio musulmán, conversión y asimilación en la monarquía hispánica. (siglos XVI y XVII)*, Barcelona, 2006.

their elites as the latter were struck down by the State or discredited when the rebellion failed.[71]

Most Moriscos did not, however, abandon the practice of gathering around eminent individuals, although some of the members of the old Granada elite were replaced by new leaders whose social success was due to their increasing prosperity and their relationships with wealthy officials or capitalists.[72] As the Moriscos' main interlocutor with the city authorities and the Crown's agents, this elite represented an important set of interests in negotiations with the King on such important issues as Morisco taxation and the peace and quiet of a community that continued to be viewed with suspicion.[73] A key element in the web of relationships that was gradually woven between the Moriscos and their new masters—top local government officials, merchants and the judges of the Real Audiencia (High Court)—was the privilege of carrying weapons. As Michel Boeglin noted, Moriscos in the service of the town's fiscal, political and judicial government officials caused no end of trouble, protected, as they were, by their masters' power.[74]

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[71] Such was the case of the Morisco Don Fernando Enríquez, alias Fernando Muley, leader of the Seville conspiracy. See Bernard Vincent, "Les rumeurs de Séville," *Vivir el Siglo de Oro. Poder, cultura e Historia en la época moderna. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez*, Salamanca 2003, pp. 165–177. See also, Michel Boeglin, "Between Rumor and Resistance: The Andalucian Morisco 'Uprising' of 1580," in Kevin Ingram ed., *The Conversos and Moriscos in Late Medieval Spain and Beyond*, Vol. 1, Leiden, 2009. An extensive study of this failed attempt of rebellion is found in Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, pp. 271–302.

[72] A multitude of works, which cannot be reviewed here, exists on the construction of the Morisco image. Among these we would highlight Francisco Márquez Villanueva's classic and inexhaustible contribution, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)*, Barcelona, 1990, José María Perceval, *Todos son uno. Arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo. La imagen del morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII*, Almería, 1997.

[73] Other Moriscos who did not belong to the old Nasrid aristocracy also managed to create a new elite in sa'adí Morocco. See Mercedes García-Arenal y Gerard Wiegers, *Un hombre en tres mundos. Samuel Pallache, un judío marroquí en la Europa protestante y católica*, Madrid, 2006, pp. 115–116. There is an English edition, *A Man of Three Worlds: Samuel Pallace, a Moroccan Jew in Catholic and Protestant Europe*, Baltimore, 2003. On the duty of service levied on the Moriscos in the post-war period, see Juan Jesús Bravo Caro, "Un impuesto de desterrados: el servicio de los naturales del Reino de Granada," *Homenaje al Dr. D. Joaquín Gil Sanjuán*, Málaga, 2003, pp. 45–82; also Bernard Vincent, "Los moriscos granadinos y la monarquía," in Juan Ignacio Fortea and Juan Eloy Gelabert eds., *Ciudades en conflicto (siglos XVI–XVIII)*, Valladolid, 2008, pp. 163–179.

[74] Michel Boeglin, *L'Inquisition espagnole au lendemain du concile de Trente. Le tribunal du Saint-Office de Séville (1560–1700)*, Montpellier, 2003, p. 242. On the importance of weapons to the Moriscos' defense and social inclusion, see Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios. Moriscos en Sevilla*, chapter VI, especially pp. 333–338, and also Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, "La ciudad de Sevilla y la

The Moriscos made the most of the legal framework that had been built around their condition, in order to distance themselves from their infamous status. Those who were in a position to do so obtained licenses to carry weapons, tax exemptions etc., which gradually placed them in a middle ground where religious suspicion faded by virtue of services rendered to individuals in power. Such exceptions, promoted by the Crown and even by the country's legal apparatus, had their roots in a mental, administrative and social system that had also existed in Nasrid society. During this period they enjoyed a favored status that raised them above the rest of their community of origin, leading them to exploit exceptionality and privilege to the utmost.

One of the clearest examples of connivance between men in powerful positions and Moriscos is an incident concerning the trade in staple goods that occurred in 1600, when the Inquisition's attorney, Gil de Escobar, was accused of abusing his position in the castle of Triana and the exemption he enjoyed from paying taxes on merchandise, by reselling various foodstuffs—including cheese, vinegar, rice, salted cod, raisins, wheat, coal—in this most famous suburb of Seville. The attorney was assisted by his Morisco steward Hernando, who had a store in Cava street (one of the main streets in Triana), and did business with other Morisco storekeepers, selling them all kinds of merchandise. The attorney could keep his prices low by evading tax, either because the quantities were small and were purchased through an official body, or because he concealed the receipt and traffic of goods. This, however, did not prevent him from raising the prices if he saw an opportunity for greater profit. He invariably imposed his own terms on the Moriscos, who could find themselves in jail or facing a lawsuit if they refused to comply. Together with his steward Hernando, Gil de Escobar had become the main supplier of cod to the fried fish outlets in the Altozano (right in front of the castle, by the bridge) and, by and large, had woven a web of extortion and control over Triana's food market, aided by the city officials' lack of interest in this marginal neighborhood. Thus we find an Old Christian attorney using the services of a Morisco to exploit other Moriscos financially, protected by the Holy Office and the Castilian justice system.[75]

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monarquía. Los moriscos y el poder," in *Actas del Congreso Internacional "Andalucía Barroca," Sección II. Historia demográfica, económica y social*, Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía, 2008, pp. 79–92.

[75] Archivo Histórico Nacional: Inquisición, leg. 2073–1, expediente 2. Declaration of the witness Alonso Gómez Beltrán, warden of the secret jails of the Inquisition. The abuse of important political positions to gain a business advantage both in the marketplace and in

Parallel to this clear case of corruption, the Holy Office, in its more conspicuous guise, contrived to fragment even further the already extenuated Morisco social body. Strict vigilance prompted some of its members to change sides, further compromising the social fabric. In the 1580s, when the Sevillian Inquisition became tougher on the Moriscos,[76] cases like the following were recorded, which occurred in 1583 and concerned a Berber known as Antonio Luis:

> who, while he was a slave of Don Antonio de Portugal, became a Christian, a very knowledgeable man in all things and ceremonies related to Muhammad's sect and a great alfaqui who, since he was offered reconciliation [...], has tried to disclose everything he knows about many Moriscos who came from the kingdom of Granada and dwelled in this city and its surrounding land, and in the district covered by the Toledo Inquisition, and in Llerena and Granada, and because they knew him to be an alfaquí and a teacher of Muhammad's law many people opened up to him [...].[77]

Methods of persuasion that combined politics, terror and social pressure were used side by side with personal initiatives of the kind presented above. Some inquisitors used their position for personal gain, trading in the lucrative market of staple goods speculation, and collaborating with storekeepers and stewards who were offered "protection" in exchange for assistance in the distribution and sale of merchandise that had entered the city without paying local taxes, owing to the exemption enjoyed by

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other aspects of the local economy was common, as demonstrated by the visit paid by the *licenciado* Ramírez Fariña to the Audiencia of Seville between 1623 and 1632. This longlasting practice extended to other locations and is known to have existed in late seventeenth-century Cadiz. José Antonio Pérez Juan: "La visita de Ramírez Fariña a la Audiencia de Sevilla (1623–1632)," *Historia, Instituciones, Documentos*, 29 (2002), pp. 357–396, especially pp. 378–382. [own trans.]

[76] As Michel Boeglin has shown, following the failed uprising of June 1580, the following two decades brought extra pressure upon the Moriscos and crypto-Islamic practices. See *L'Inquisition espagnole* ..., pp. 247–249, 261–273.

[77] Archivo Histórico Nacional: Inquisición, leg. 2947. Letter to the *Suprema*, 21 October 1583. This and other letters regarding this Berber are studied in Michel Boeglin: *L'Inquisition* ..., pp. 264–265 [own trans.]. In the words of Louis Cardaillac: *"The Inquisition ... confronted with the large numbers of Moriscos, first attempted to destroy their elites, either by suing or by attracting them, offering them social or economic advantages or even posts as familiars of the Inquisition. A letter from the tribunal of Zaragoza to the General Inquisitor in 1580 read: '*the said heretical leaders, properly converted, are an example of humility and penitence so that those who are deceived in that sect may do the same, and may be useful by guiding and converting those who had been perverted by them' ... *A double advantage for the Tribunal: the community's head was chopped off and thanks to this, in those times of hardship, its arcs were filled with confiscated assets*," (Louis Cardaillac: "El enfrentamiento entre moriscos y cristianos," *Chronica Nova* 20 (1992), pp. 27–37 (p. 34).

the Holy Office. All in all, it is worth noting that the financial interest the urban elites showed in the Moriscos was combined with extortion and mafia-like methods to intimidate and antagonize a population that was already resistance-conscious.

The numerous Moriscos that were deported after the war became a greater source of concern: not only did they need ideological control, but also occupations and accommodation in the city. It was easy for Moriscos to hide and disappear in the throng of marginal and classless people then living in the city. This situation soon led the authorities to associate the Moriscos with social unrest in their discourse on surveillance and control of this minority. For this reason, Seville's town officials lost no time in ordering a census that would provide population figures, and attempted to weaken Morisco family bonds by giving them positions as servants in the homes of the city's gentry and craftsmen, just as they had done previously with Moorish slaves. The placing of Moriscos in domestic service or with powerful clientele was a solution repeatedly invoked by the civilian authorities and fitted perfectly with the idea of providing them with "role models" in the shape of society's most distinguished members.

The corrupt nature of the justice system, especially the Real Audiencia,[78] and of the widely picaresque social environment has been abundantly glossed both in literature and in petitions to the Crown, like the following, written by the licentiate Porras:

> The most common types in Seville are thugs, pimps, false witnesses, gamblers, ruffians, murderers, usurers, bargain hunters, vagrants who live by Muhammad's grace only on the proceeds of gambling and theft from the gaming houses and the dice tables, since there are over 300 gambling dens and 3,000 brothels. And the worst of it is that those who should be solving the problem are of the same ilk, because human interests are such that they ride roughshod over everything [...].[79]

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[78] The power of judges and their magistrates was very important, and the royal jail was largely within their jurisdiction. The high crime levels in the city simply reflected a world in which violence was ubiquitous and magistrates themselves were often implicated in cases of robbery and extortion. Ruth Pike, "Crime and criminals in sixteenth century Seville," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 1 (1975), pp. 3–18, especially the case of the bailiff and procurer Francisco Sánchez, p. 11.

[79] Francisco de Porras de la Cámara, "Memorial al Arzobispo de Sevilla sobre el mal gobierno y corrupción de costumbres en aquella ciudad," *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, 4 (1900), pp. 550–554, quoted in Héctor Brioso Santos, *Sevilla en la literatura del Siglo de Oro. El sentimiento anticiudadano barroco*, Seville, 1998, p. 98. [own trans.]

The fact that some Moriscos associated with the world of government crime and corruption was not, however, included in what has been defined as the city's political discourse. On the contrary, in the years that followed their deportation from the kingdom of Granada, a profitable political image of the Moriscos was to be created, as a result of which they were invariably presented as treacherous and heretical, and attributed a marginal role in social and professional activity. Nor did they make virtually any contribution to the State, supplying neither clerics to serve God and his church, nor soldiers to service the King and his army. They were, however, also said to have a devilish capacity for work and money-making, as well as a great ability to save and reproduce. This image was presented in the Cortes of 1589 by Seville's representative, the Jurado Rodrigo Sánchez Doria, in a speech outlining the problem and demanding that a solution be agreed by the Cortes and ratified by the King.[80] In a description of Seville's inadequate military reserves, both in men and weapons, Doria portrayed the Moriscos in the following terms:

> they are empowered to make all sorts of deals and business transactions in the public sphere, especially where staple foods are concerned… because they collect and hide them at harvest time, so that everybody has to buy these products from them. To make the most of this state of affairs, year after year, they have become storekeepers, dispensers, bakers, butchers, inn-keepers and water carriers, and they collect and hide all the money, and none of them buys or owns property and thus they are rich and powerful and associate with the ecclesiastical and secular judiciary, who grant them so much favor that they can lead such licentious lives that the weakness of their Christianity can be clearly seen.…[81]

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[80] Doria was one of the most active opponents of the king's policy and united the Cortes in their approach to an internal problem that he was the first to present and defend in session, although a cautious Philip II put off his proposals with regard to the Moriscos. On the Cortes and the role of the opposition, see Irving A.A. Thompson: "Oposición política y juicio de gobierno en las Cortes de 1592–98," *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna* 17 (1997), pp. 37–62.

[81] Actas de las Cortes de Castilla: Sesión de 16-XI-1593. Published by Manuel Danvila y Collado, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, pp. 310–312. This suspicious image of the hard-working, store-owning Morisco, participating in extensive mule-driving networks organized throughout the country, appears in a sixteenth-century inquisitorial report from Ávila, which asserted: "One thing that we can say about them is that a lot of suspicion derives from the understanding in this town and other places that they have a great sum of monies and buy no houses, lands or vineyards, but rather deal entirely in merchandise. And thus all of Castile eats from their hands, which is quite detrimental." (Serafín de Tapia Sánchez, *La comunidad*…, p. 268).

It is clear that the possible competition and growth of the Morisco minority, both in demographic and economic terms, were felt most strongly in the cities, especially those with large Morisco populations, like Seville. It is therefore hardly surprising that the city authorities developed an anti-Morisco discourse when they felt, with or without reason, that the integrity of the citizenry and the social order were under threat. Moriscos were accused of greed and speculation, of the practice of saving, which was seen as a way of keeping currency out of circulation. It was openly said that this was only possible with the assistance of other jurisdictions, acting against the interests of the city and its inhabitants. All these factors were said to point to the Moriscos' tepid Christianity and, in short, their lack of solidarity with the rest of society. Such complaints had several aims, one of which was to expel the Moriscos from urban areas, forcing them to settle in the countryside, a solution that particularly made sense in times of agricultural crisis.

The Moriscos were objectified, reified and petrified in various inflexible parameters.[82] However, it is evident that the Seville authorities did not want to rid themselves of a productive group; they merely wished to harness and control it to their own benefit. This strategy becomes evident when we study the city council's reaction to the 1609 order of expulsion. In the words of one of their members:

> note that it is known as a public and notable fact in this republic that among the New Christians there are many Catholics who receive the sacraments punctually and in good faith, and accept the doctrine of our religion as true Christians, setting a good example, and they are seen doing all their duties and it is known and visible how necessary they are in this city to provide services and do other chores in response to the needs of the city and everything about them that has been seen proves that they do not deserve what those living in New and Old Castile and the kingdom of Toledo have deserved . . .[83]

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[82] For a definition of social reification, see Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality*, New York, 1966, p. 89. The authors define reification in social terms that can be applied to the Moriscos: *"Roles may be reified in the same manner as institutions.* [. . .] *identity itself (the total self, if one prefers) may be reified, both one's own and that of others. There is then a total identification of the individual with his socially assigned typifications. He is apprehended as nothing but that type. This apprehension may be positively or negatively accented in terms of values or emotions."*

[83] Archivo Municipal de Sevilla: Actas Capitulares, libro H-1694, f. 31r–32r. [own trans.]. Nevertheless, the city government split up in two sides, one against the expulsion, and the other defending it, as it is analyzed in Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. Pérez García, *En los márgenes de la Ciudad de Dios* . . ., pp. 388–422.

However, the defense mounted by the city councilors and their later negotiation with San Germán to mitigate the effects of expulsion did not deflect the King from his determination to remove the great majority of Moriscos from Spanish territory. As a result, a discourse that had remained valid and had been constantly redefined since 1502 was destroyed when it failed to be of use.

Complaints from the cities used to pressurize the Crown comprised a political discourse which, though originally local in part, came to constitute a coherent whole in the Cortes and in the Council of State whenever the Morisco issue was addressed: the Moriscos were in Castile by order of Philip II; co-existence was necessary and their elimination was not desirable, but their role as foodstuffs suppliers and agents of social instability had to be minimized. This discourse was overwhelmed and eventually submerged in the tide of the State's needs. The Moriscos were sacrificed at the altar of royal propaganda in a bid for governmental victory, minimizing the political damage caused by the 1609 truce in Flanders and other problems facing the Monarchy.[84] Meanwhile, court propagandists went to work to justify the Crown's decision, fixing an image of the treacherous, heretical Morisco in the popular conciousness.[85]

[84] About this process, Rafael Benítez Sánchez-Blanco, *Heroicas decisiones: la monarquía católica y los moriscos valencianos*, Valencia, 2001.

[85] As can be seen in the work of Gaspar de Aguilar, *Expulsión de los moros de España*, [1610] Manuel Ruiz Lagos ed., Alcalá de Guadaíra, 1999. One of the bests studies about propagandists can be found in Francisco J. Moreno Díaz del Campo, "El espejo del rey. Felipe III, los apologistas y la expulsión de los moriscos," in P. Sanz Camañes ed., *La monarquía hispánia en tiempos de Quijote*, Madrid, 2005, pp. 231–246.

CHAPTER FIVE

VIOLENCE AND RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN EARLY MODERN VALENCIA

Benjamin Ehlers

> But realizing that those of this kingdom [Valencia] and of that of Castile were continuing in their harmful intentions, and given that I have heard on sound and true advice that they were persisting in their apostasy and perdition and were seeking to harm and subvert people of our kingdoms through their envoys . . . and having had entrusted to our Lord, and trusting in his divine favor concerning matters related to his honor and glory, I have resolved that all of the Moriscos of that kingdom be expelled and sent to the land of the Berbers.[1]

The royal decree ordering the expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609 offered a clear and concise explanation of violence among Old Christians and Moriscos in the preceding decades. King Philip III and the members of his council justified this measure through the notorious apostasy of the Moriscos, as well as their treason against the Habsburg monarchy. These two arguments established the connection between violence and religious identity in the eyes of the establishment. The Moriscos brought harm to the Christian faith through their obstinate and continued heresy, and carried out acts of violence against the Spanish as a prelude to the coming Ottoman invasion. From this perspective, the expulsion did not exclude a minority of Spaniards on the basis of their ancestry, but rather ended the Islamic era in Spain by reuniting the Moriscos—Muslims in their hearts—with their coreligionists in the Maghreb. The king's favorite, the Duke of Lerma, and the Archbishop of Valencia, Juan de Ribera, arrived at the same conclusions via different routes, through reasons of state and theological arguments respectively. Their views on violence and apostasy made possible a defense of the expulsion in the face of the objections of dissident councilors, the Moriscos themselves, and their Old Christian seigneurs. The official order of expulsion insisted on drawing a clear line between faithful Christians and rebellious Moriscos, with little

[1] Philip III, "Decree of Expulsion of the Moriscos," translated in Jon Cowans ed., *Early Modern Spain: A Documentary History*, Philadelphia, 2003, p. 146.

acknowledgment of those aspects of Morisco Spain that failed to conform to this polarized view.

The expulsion decrees of 1609–14 brought to an end a century of efforts to police the Moriscos, assimilate them into Spanish society, and convert them to Christianity. A decade into his reign, Philip III undertook the drastic measures that his father had always declined to implement, despite the opposition of some of his advisors. In some senses, however, the final deportation represented the capstone of decades of legislation targeted at the Moriscos, rather than a departure from previous policies. Civil officials in Valencia and other Morisco areas had already passed a series of laws disarming the Moriscos, limiting their movements toward the coast, and banning them from professions such as butcher.[2] These efforts indicated a desire both to assimilate a New Christian group and to subdue a potential internal enemy. The institutional Church, by the same token, urged the Moriscos to become sincere Christians while treating them as inferior members of the flock. Rather than a simple victory of persecution over evangelization—of the reason of state over spiritual obligations—the expulsion constituted the culmination of both impulses. A century of failed attempts at conversion led even the pacific Archbishop Ribera to agree that preaching, parish reform, and inquisitorial leniency had all had no effect upon the apostate Moriscos, "wizened trees, full of knots of heresy."[3] The waters of the sacrament of baptism had not washed away the Islamic beliefs of the Moriscos, and thus Ribera endorsed the expulsion out of a shared belief in the insurmountable differences between Old Christians and New. In agreement with the decree of 1609, the archbishop argued that the Moriscos' well-known predilection for violent acts prefigured their inevitable revolt against the Christian establishment.

Whereas the proclamations of the king and his agents offer a stark portrait of an intransigent and subversive community, the surviving documentation from other sources reveals a dynamic Morisco population marked by temporal change and regional variations. The extensive records of the Inquisition include many examples of Moriscos who resisted evangelization, but also communities that exhibited a higher degree of assimilation

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[2] Josep Lluís Canet and Diego Romero eds., *Crides, pragmàtiques, edictes, cartes i ordres per a l'adminitració i govern de la Cuitat i Regne de València en el segle XVI*, València, 2002, vol. II.

[3] On the evolving Morisco policy of Ribera, see Benjamin Ehlers, *Between Christians and Moriscos: Juan de Ribera and Religious Reform in Valencia, 1568–1614*, Baltimore, 2006, chs. 4–6.

than the expulsion decree would suggest, in Aragon as well as Castile.[4] The comparatively less studied records of the criminal justice system provide further evidence against the Christian-Muslim dichotomy of official legislation. The collections of the Archivo del Reino de Valencia include accounts of roughly 2,000 criminal trials from the governor's court, an intermediary tribunal above local justices, and the Real Audiencia, a royal appellate court, in the years 1550–1610.[5] The governor's court and the Real Audiencia heard criminal and civil cases, though their jurisdiction occasionally overlapped with ecclesiastical courts and the Inquisition. More than 110 of these criminal trials feature Moriscos as defendants, accusers, or key witnesses. These trials demonstrate that the characterization of violence in Morisco areas as a holy war between Christianity and Islam corresponds very little with the experiences of the Valencian people. Some of the attacks and murders documented in the trials resulted from enmities among Moriscos, and these cases appeared before Christian tribunals primarily when the aggrieved parties sought an advantage, however small, over their rivals. In other cases, the accumulated testimony demonstrates that the Moriscos who perpetrated crimes acted on the orders of their Old Christian lords, thus playing a secondary role in a larger struggle among local elites. Even in the cases that bear the most resemblance to the official vision of the Moriscos, the incursions and depredations of bandits from abroad, the response of local Moriscos varied from support to opposition to the foreigners.

The principal division that emerges from the criminal trials is not between Christians and Moriscos but rather locals—of any ancestry—and outsiders. Those Moriscos with deep roots in a community and longstanding ties to Old Christian seigneurs and neighbors encountered different treatment at the hands of the justice system to those who represented an unknown character. Perhaps even more so than inquisitorial investigations, which focused on questions of doctrinal knowledge and religious observance, the criminal trials illustrate the many affinities between local Christians and Moriscos, both of whom looked to Christian

[4] The extensive bibliography of recent scholarship on the Moriscos includes works as diverse as Rafael Benítez, *Heroicas decisiones: La Monarquía Católica y los Moriscos valencianos*, Valencia, 2001; L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614*, Chicago, 2005; and Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, Princeton, 2005.

[5] In Valencia, two governors divided the district along the line between Biar and Calpe, and the northern district included sub-governors in Castellón and Játiva.

tribunals to resolve disputes. Morisco merchants who traveled from town to town, by contrast, generated more suspicion than those settled in a given area. Valencian officials reacted even more negatively to Moriscos who emigrated illegally from Andalusia to Valencia after the dispersal of the Granadan Moriscos in 1570, particularly as rumors of a similar rebellion in eastern Spain were rife. More dangerous still, in the view of the authorities, were those Moriscos who formed part of the continuous trade between North Africa and Spain in the decades prior to the expulsion.

Vendettas, Vassals and Lords

In Valencia, home to the largest and least assimilated population of Moriscos in Spain after the 1560s, the expansion of Morisco communities, the redoubling of clerical efforts at assimilation, and the ongoing struggle against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean led to heightened tensions. And yet the incidences of violence reported in the abundant criminal cases from this period do not square with the image of the Moriscos as traitors. The trial records of the governor and the royal court delineate acts of violence that often resulted from internal disputes among Moriscos rather than animosity between Old Christians and New. As Mark Meyerson has argued in connection with the Mudejar era, "violence begot violence because social norms demanded that vengeance be exacted if honor was to be maintained."[6] The persistence of vendettas in Morisco Valencia is woven into the language of many trials, such as that of the young Morisco from Benisanó who reportedly fired an arquebus at another Morisco and later killed him with a knife because of the "rancor and ill will" that he had against the victim.[7]

Several other trials demonstrate the tenuous connection between this inherited code of honor and the Old Christian criminal justice system. In 1565, the ongoing enmity between the Faraig and Badahui families led to violence when the Faraig clan intercepted two of their enemies on the royal road near Gandía, beating and stabbing them nearly to death. The ensuing investigation, spurred in part because nearby Old Christians had hired Moriscos to protect them on the road, revealed a longstanding

[6] Mark Meyerson, *The Muslims of Valencia in the Age of Ferdinand and Isabel: Between Coexistence and Crusade*, Berkeley, 1991, p. 248.

[7] Archivo del Reino de Valencia [ARV], Real Audiencia, sig. 390, 1585.

history of attacks and reprisals born of this "mortal hatred."[8] In some cases officials attempted to end the spiral of violence by brokering a *pau i treva* or peace treaty between the rivals, but these did not always accomplish their objective. An Aragonese Morisco, resident in Castellón, agreed to a treaty with his brother-in-law after a dispute over land, but then broke the peace and struck him on the head. This act came back to haunt him after he was later convicted of robbing a traveling Franciscan, "pointing an arquebus at his chest and saying, 'Take off your clothes or you will die.' " The governor cited the previous incident on sentencing him to death.[9] Christian efforts to impose justice on acts of vengeance met with resistance from Moriscos, who sought rather to settle scores internally. Two Morisco women from Benisanó presented an accusation to the governor after a group of enemies murdered their brother in the countryside: the murderers "threw a stone at him and struck him on the head, below the temple, causing him to fall to the ground." A few months later, however, the sisters withdrew the accusation, swearing rather that their brother had died of an illness.[10] Pressure from the Morisco community undoubtedly played a role in this turn of events, suggesting the risks that Moriscos ran in appealing to Christian authorities.

While enmities among Moriscos figured prominently in many trials, in other cases violence flared when Moriscos acted on behalf of their seigneurs. The majority of Moriscos in Valencia worked lands owned by the nobility, the Church, or the military orders. The competition for water, pasturage, and other resources led to conflicts in which Morisco shepherds and farmers fought against perceived interlopers in their seigneur's jurisdiction. In 1580, officials in Benaguasil arrested a Morisco for carrying illegal weapons and attacking two Christian shepherds. He responded "that the arquebus and the sword were not his, but belonged to Don Carlos, the son of [the prominent Morisco] Hierónimo de Abenamir, and Don Carlos had given him the weapons to go out to the road to seize a sheep from the flock of the pastors."[11] The defendant noted that the shepherds had entered Abenamir's lands, and that his Morisco lord had royal permission to bear arms. Rejecting these legal arguments, the governor condemned him to the galleys in perpetuity.

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8 ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 190, 1565.
9 ARV, Gobernación, num. 635, 1555.
10 ARV, Gobernación, num. 893, 1565.
11 ARV, Gobernación, num. 1153, 1580.

Moriscos who served Old Christian seigneurs did not necessarily fare any better before the governor or the royal appellate court, as officials often suspected that landowners sheltered their Morisco vassals and flaunted royal justice. In 1565, a band of armed Moriscos chased off an official who had come to collect taxes on the lands of the Admiral Don Sancho de Cardona. When another commissioner returned to lay claim to a mule in the Moriscos' possession, he seized the animal quickly and detained its Morisco caretaker as well, "because he was afraid that if he let the Morisco go, the man would return to Almudaina and recruit other Moriscos to attack him, as the Moriscos of Planes are accustomed to do."[12] Cardona launched a countersuit accusing the official of theft, but the Admiral's reputation for favoring his Moriscos—even to the point of attending their religious ceremonies—ultimately compromised his position. In 1570 the Valencian Inquisition sentenced Cardona to a fine of 2,000 ducats and reclusion in a monastery for "fautorias graves," or abetting Morisco apostasy.[13]

Don Sancho de Cardona and the Abenamirs harkened back to the medieval era in their desire to preserve the Moriscos' traditional customs and practices, minimizing royal and inquisitorial interference. Yet even among seigneurs with less sympathy for their Moriscos' Islamic traditions, violence generally arose on account of mundane disputes over livestock or land, rather than as a result of religious conflict. Old Christians, furthermore, acted as perpetrators and patrons of violent acts. A group of Moriscos appeared before the governor in 1589 complaining of two Old Christians who had stolen seven goats from them by force, threatening them with staffs. One of the accused admitted that he had taken seven goats near Benifayo, but defended himself in this manner: "the defendant and his brother seized seven goats from the flock as a *monta* [fine], taking them to the town of Benifayo and delivering them into the possession of the local seigneur [don Hieroni Jofre]. But the deponent denied that he had stolen the goats, as he took them in the presence of the young goatherd and told him the reason."[14] He had thus turned to violence to enforce the jurisdiction of his lord in the area.

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[12] ARV, Gobernación, num. 736, 1560.

[13] AHN, Inquisición, lib. 936, fol. 52v. The struggle between the Inquisition and seigneurs in Morisco areas dated back to the baptisms of the 1520s; see Benítez, *Heroicas decisiones*, p. 203.

[14] ARV, Gobernación, num. 1326, 1588.

In another case involving Moriscos as victims, guards working for the lieutenant of Valencia, an official in the criminal justice system, forcibly detained two Moriscos from Petres for stealing grapes from a vineyard. The Moriscos insisted that they had a license from the vineyard's owner to harvest grapes, and that they had been arrested because of "the great enmity that the lieutenant has against the vassals of the barony of Petres, on account of the supreme jurisdiction that the seigneurs hold in the towns of the barony."[15] Though the notary employed the same language as for the feuds among Moriscos, in this case the term referred to an enmity in which Christian officials asserted their authority over the landowning nobility by exacting reprisals upon their Morisco vassals.

Three other cases in which Moriscos acted as aggressors nonetheless demonstrate that the involvement of Old Christians in acts of violence went beyond the role of aggrieved victim. In 1588, the Valencian monastery of San Miguel de los Reyes complained to the viceroy following the murder of Frances Llopis, a guard in its employ. On a routine inspection of the monastery's irrigation canal, Llopis discovered that someone had diverted the flow of water toward the nearby town of Sans. When he arrived at the town, he found four Moriscos guarding the gates, as he reported to the mayor of Sans the following morning. That night, the Moriscos attacked Llopis at his home in the storehouse of the monastery, leaving him for dead. The abbot complained that the mayor had done nothing to punish the Moriscos—even allowing them to taunt Llopis as he lay dying—because "the water that the accused stole from the canal was to irrigate a rice field owned by the mayor, from which it can reasonably be inferred that the mayor was an informed accomplice in the death of Llopis."[16]

Jurisdictional disputes also colored a case that appeared before the royal court in 1600. Don Luis Jofre, the Master of Montesa, sued for the restitution of a Morisco vassal held in the viceroy's prison. Jofre did not dispute that the Morisco had killed an Old Christian shepherd five years before, but presented testimony that he had acted in self-defense: when the shepherd "took the staff he carried and threatened the flock of sheep," the Morisco warned him repeatedly before slinging a stone at him. The shepherd charged the Morisco, and suffered a mortal wound

[15] ARV, Gobernación, num. 1437, 1593.
[16] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 362, 1588.

to the head in the brawl that followed.[17] The activities of the mayor of Sans and the Master of Montesa illustrate that Old Christians acted as patrons of Morisco violence, and defended a local system of seigneurial justice that brought them into conflict with agents of the royal appellate court. A third case from Catadau demonstrates that Old Christians could also impede royal justice through inactivity. In 1605, a bailiff with a royal commission to prosecute delinquents asked a town councilor of Catadau to provide him with men to help arrest a notorious Morisco outlaw. The councilor refused, even under threat of a fine, insisting that these matters lay outside his jurisdiction. The bailiff abandoned the search, but on his way out of town he unfortunately crossed paths with the Morisco. After an exchange of gunfire the outlaw attacked the bailiff with a scimitar, leaving a wound in his neck so critical that "a hundred bandages would not stop the blood."[18]

These disputes among officials reflect the struggle between the monarchy, eager to assert its authority, and privileged groups accustomed to providing justice internally.[19] Centuries before, Old Christian authorities had sought to erode the autonomy of the Mudejar communities created after the Reconquest.[20] Even after the forced baptisms of the 1520s and the legal dissolution of the Muslim *aljamas*, the Moriscos and their protectors retained this conception of their status to a considerable degree. Violence in Morisco Valencia, in contrast to the arguments of the expulsion decree, did not break down cleanly along divisions between Old Christians and Moriscos. Loyalties to one's clan, local seigneur, or king intersected in ways that crossed the religious gap between these two communities.

North Africans and Moriscos

The expulsion decree also argued for a particular connection between violence and religion, identifying the Moriscos as an Islamic population resident in Spain. The Valencia court cases include many references to

[17] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 494, 1600.
[18] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 536, 1605.
[19] Jorge Catalá, "La nobleza valenciana en la época de Felipe II. Mecanismos de castigo y disciplina," in Ernest Belenguer, coord., *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, Madrid, 1999, vol. II, p. 77.
[20] Isabel A. O'Connor, *A Forgotten Community: The Mudejar Aljama of Xátiva, 1240–1327*, Leiden, 2003.

Morisco relations with North Africa, but the portrait that emerges from the documentation as a whole is not of one community, joined in the Abode of Islam. Some Moriscos retained and fostered contacts with Muslims in North Africa, though the sustained human traffic between Spain and the Maghreb did not necessarily take the form described in royal propaganda. The putative alliance between the Moriscos and the Ottoman Turks, who according to rumor would rise up together after the arrival of the Muslim armada, proves especially problematic. The corsair states of the Maghreb answered to the Ottoman sultans in theory, but operated independently from them in practice.[21] The North Africans who came to Morisco Spain included bandits but also merchants, and in both cases these men encountered varying reactions from Morisco communities. In 1587, for example, the bailiff of Bernia heard that the notorious vagabond Joan Arbi had returned from Algiers and was roaming around at night with a group of foreign Moors. The officials found Arbi in Senija, "playing handball," and arrested him. At first glance, the incident appeared to vindicate the logic of the apologists for expulsion: the coast is not clear, and Muslims have arrived to foment rebellion. However, the Morisco residents of Senija helped the bailiff capture Arbi.[22] Officials in Petres likewise laid a trap for a famous highway bandit with the aid of a Morisco who evidently disapproved of the robber's carnal relationship with his sister.[23]

Even in cases where local Moriscos aided bandits from abroad, this support apparently resulted from fear rather than solidarity. The disappearance of two Old Christian tinkers in 1587 sparked a wide-ranging manhunt, made more urgent after officials heard reports of the infamous North African bandit Miquel Abiaix's presence in the area. Abiaix received medicine, food, and clean clothing from the Moriscos of Chiva, and his abettors there included his mistress. But the testimony also indicates resistance, as when the bandit's allies "repeatedly cursed those who sounded the alarm against Abiaix."[24] The bandit eluded capture and reappeared in Alaquas two decades later, when he and a group of henchmen exacted vengeance against a young shepherd who had killed a member of their band. Abiaix recruited the help of the shepherd's close friend, who led them to a melon orchard, where the bandits mortally wounded the shepherd with

[21] Mercedes García-Arenal and Miguel Ángel de Bunes, *Los españoles y el norte de África. Siglos XV–XVIII*, Madrid, 1992, p. 112.
[22] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 397, 1587.
[23] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 564, 1608.
[24] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 402, 1587.

arquebuses. Despite the murderers' best efforts to intimidate potential witnesses (Abiaix threatened one Morisco with: "shut your mouth and don't say what you saw, or else we will kill you"), several Moriscos testified against them, commenting specifically on "the great treason and perfidy" of the local Morisco who delivered his friend into the hands of his enemies. This act arguably drew such amazement because it ran counter to the ties of loyalty that characterized Morisco communities.

Traveling bandits drew support from mistresses, family members, and those they succeeded in intimidating, but these abettors defied the many locals who regarded the brigands rather as a scourge upon Moriscos and Old Christians alike. In the Valencia trials, this animosity looms larger than any form of sympathy for the bandits as agents of protest or social rebellion against the Hapsburg regime.[25]

Official fears of an Ottoman-Morisco conspiracy to overthrow Christian rule in Spain, reflected in laws against moving to the coast or "fleeing" to North Africa, also overstated the political dimension of the Moriscos' motives in moving around the Mediterranean world. Distrust of North Africans certainly colored the prosecution of Moriscos: officials in Valencia, upon arresting a Morisco in possession of some stolen cushions, repeatedly asked him whether he or his family had ever been to Algiers, or if he had seen or spoken with "moros" from the sea.[26] A Morisco sailor in the port of Valencia was accused of fleeing to Algiers, even though according to testimony his crime consisted of collecting clothing, coins, and pearls to sell to his brother in the Maghreb without a license from the king.[27] The potential for profit in the Mediterranean trade led other Moriscos to engage in more violently criminal acts, as when a group of Moriscos from Vall d'Uxó stole a fishing boat from Old Christian sailors in 1591. Traveling "by secret paths that only the Moriscos know," they made their way to the coast and embarked for North Africa, only to return when they realized they had overloaded the boat. Those who remained behind faced torture and prosecution in the royal court, though the testimony suggested

[25] On this debate, see Xavier Torres Sans, "El bandolerismo mediterráneo: una visión comparativa (siglos XVI–XVII)," in *Felipe II y el Mediterráneo*, vol. II, pp. 397–411.

[26] ARV, Gobernación, num. 447, 1547.

[27] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 414, 1589. In 1553 Charles V issued a law against "anar a Alger ni a altra terra de Moros, no portar robes ni mercaderies ad aquelles." Josep Lluís Canet and Diego Romero eds., *Crides, pragmàtiques, edictes, cartes i ordres per a l'adminitració i govern de la Cuitat i Regne de València en el segle XVI*, Universitat de València, 2002, vol. II, p. 23.

no motive other than the desire to leave Spain.[28] These cases of flight to North Africa reflect not an army of Muslims residing in Spain, awaiting an Islamic Reconquest, but rather a continuous exchange between bandits, merchants, and fugitives. Christians, Moriscos and Muslims all participated in this exchange as sailors, merchants, renegades and, after 1580, when the Inquisition began to condemn Moriscos to the galleys, galley slaves.

Valencia after the Second Granadan Rebellion

In 1568–70, the bloody rebellion by the Moriscos of Granada—who had been generally peaceful up to that point—exacerbated Old Christian fears of a general uprising. This failed insurrection in the Alpujarras mountains gave rise to the dispersion of the Granadan Moriscos, with clear repercussions in the kingdom of Valencia, now the epicenter of Morisco Spain.[29] An episode in Játiva in 1570 underlined the climate of alarm. The lieutenant of the castle wrote an urgent letter to the viceroy, informing him that three prominent and wealthy Moriscos, "from the lineage and caste of the Turk," had tried to enter the castle to see the construction work there. The appearance of fires in the night and the discovery of books in Arabic seemed to indicate preparations for a rebellion in Valencia, a great concern in "these times of Moorish peril." A more careful investigation revealed a less dramatic explanation: the Moriscos went to the castle to engage in business with a Christian colleague, and after chatting with the wife of the guard, they left peacefully when told that Moriscos were prohibited from entering. One of the Moriscos even asked an Old Christian friend to go with him to the local judge to complain of the treatment they had received, indicating the Morisco's degree of confidence in Christian authorities.[30] The fears that arose from this comparatively benign series of events reflected the increasing scrutiny of Moriscos after 1570. In addition to concerns over a rebellion, officials also sought to prevent the illegal immigration of former Granadan rebels into Valencia. Under the law, the Granadans were to be distributed among the Old Christian population of Castile, "to make sure that they assimilated and to make it unlikely that

[28] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 421, 1591.

[29] Emilia Salvador, *Felipe II y los Moriscos valencianos. Las repercusiones de la revuelta granadina (1568–1570)*, Valladolid, 1987.

[30] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 246, 1570.

they would upset the political balance in the areas where they were sent."[31] In 1571 a Valencian official passing through a hostel in Alcocer arrested a Morisco traveling with a girl aged five or six. After an interrogation (and an attempt by the Morisco to bribe the authorities by offering them his mule), the official determined that the girl was a slave from Granada, and the Morisco a slave trader assigned to accompany her to her new master in the north.[32] These efforts to forestall an influx of Granadans continued in the following decades, as bailiffs and judges routinely asked unknown Moriscos if they had any ties to Granada. In 1591 the Granadan Morisco Luis Espinosa was condemned to three years in the galleys, since the law prohibited the presence of Granadans in Valencia except "those porters who make a living through commerce, and carry a letter from the lords and officials of their hometowns stating that they are honest people who live off their trade, none of which applies to Luis Espinosa."[33]

This suspicion of traveling Moriscos carried consequences for Morisco traders operating within Spain. While most Moriscos in Valencia worked the land in comparatively isolated settlements, some made a living as muleteers and merchants, or moved between communities on a seasonal basis, buying and selling goods.[34] Officials on the lookout for illegal Granadan or Aragonese Moriscos discovered criminals among these traders, though the victims of these wrongdoers included both Old Christians and Moriscos. In 1552 a Morisco in Vilamarchant who "knew the land well" agreed to accompany two Old Christian traders to Lombay. He and an accomplice then attacked the merchants, killing one and stealing their mules. Once arrested, the Morisco survived repeated torture and even managed to escape from jail at one point, before he was recaptured and sentenced to the galleys.[35] The governor's court tried another Morisco following a trade dispute a few years later, though in this case the aggrieved parties were Moriscos. A Morisco tailor from Alzira arrived in Benifaraig in 1569, and deceived the Moriscos there into believing that he had a special commission from the tax-collector in Alzira to prepare and sew cloth. As the accusation stated, "the residents of Benifaraig are simple people,

[31] L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, Chicago, 2005, p. 234.
[32] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 263, 1571.
[33] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 424, 1591.
[34] Morisco farmers were concentrated in the rough interior, apart from la Safor and the huerta of Játiva. Manuel Ardit, *Els homes i la terra del País Valencià (segles XVI–XVIII)*, Barcelona, 1993, vol. I, p. 28.
[35] ARV, Gobernación, num. 566, 1552.

who can easily be tricked by an astute villain with experience in carrying out scams."[36]

The Moriscos of Benifaraig did appeal to the governor for justice, but other trials involving traveling Moriscos—as in the case of Morisco feuds and vengeance killings—hint at the tensions between Morisco communities and Christian authorities. A Morisco doctor traveling through Valencia plied his trade profitably among Moriscos until a bailiff noticed that his ears had been cropped. When further questioning revealed that he was in exile from Aragon for receiving stolen goods, the officials arrested him under the law against *tagarinos* or Aragonese immigrants.[37] The arrival of an Old Christian sardine merchant in Benevites led to an arrest when a local Morisco "told the man that he could not sell his sardines in that place, because as storekeeper he had the right to provision the town." In the ensuing argument the local Moriscos attacked the merchant's guard, who turned out to be a Moroccan-born Morisco. Because the ban on Morisco arms included defensive weapons, the bailiff arrested the guard on account of his shield (setting aside the fact that it had saved his life).[38] These trials provide evidence of criminal activity among Morisco traders, but not of the Archbishop Ribera's characterization of the Moriscos as a sponge on the wealth of Christian Spain. The key boundary that traveling Moriscos crossed was not a Christian-Muslim divide so much as a perceived distinction between the settled, peaceable Moriscos of fixed residence and the dangerous agitators who moved between communities.

The laws against immigration from North Africa, Aragon, or Granada provided officials with a pretext for questioning any Morisco who did not appear to belong to a local community. Moriscos, in turn, scrambled to prove their legitimacy through the ties that they knew would resonate with bailiffs and judges: marriage, steady employment, service to an Old Christian seigneur. An official in the southern town of Orihuela questioned a Morisco he observed conducting business in the town square, simply because he did not recognize the man. The Morisco at first claimed to have a wife in Orihuela, though when she denied this he claimed to be a widower with a family in nearby Murcia. Either scenario would have been less likely to raise suspicion than his subsequent confession that he was North African by birth.[39] Another North African Morisco, detained

[36] ARV, Gobernación, num. 986, 1570.
[37] ARV, Gobernación, num. 312, 1541.
[38] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 155, 1563.
[39] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 38, 1546.

in Sagunto on account of his dark complexion and "embarrassment" in speaking Valencian, produced evidence attesting to his marriage, baptism, and status as a freedman, but this did not save him from banishment from Valencia.[40]

Laws against migrating toward the coast, designed to prevent Moriscos from assisting a Muslim armada, provided another avenue for prosecution. A bailiff in the coastal town of Polop initiated an investigation when he encountered a Morisco he did not know. The Morisco argued that he owned land in the area, and several other Moriscos testified that landowners often traveled to Polop seasonally to harvest fruits and grains.[41] Judges sought to verify these claims, and to determine the monetary value of a defendant's possessions, by ordering inventories to be placed in evidence. A total lack of goods, as with the Moriscos from Vall d'Uxó who were ejected from the stolen fishing boat, identified the defendants as *forasters* or landless men, a black mark against them.

Knowledge of the Castilian or Valencian language presented another litmus test for Moriscos under suspicion, as officials associated both spoken *algaravía* and written Arabic with conspiracy and heresy. The bandit Miquel Abiaix made a point of speaking in *algaravía*, and upbraided one Morisco for responding in Valencian, saying "he did not need to speak in Valencian, since he knew *algaravía.*"[42] Just as the authors of some of the *aljamiado* texts lamented the loss of Arabic and Islamic practices among the Moriscos, Abiaix criticized the Valencians for speaking the language of their oppressors.[43] Though many Valencian Moriscos, and women in particular, spoke no Romance language, officials, who already had some reason to suspect a Morisco, regarded this lack of knowledge as a warning sign. An Old Christian porter from Valencia who came across two Moriscos transporting a large quantity of hens questioned them in *algaravía*, learning that they worked for the viceroy and that they were headed to the market. The porter's testimony proved damning when the viceroy clarified that he did not know the Moriscos, and an Old Christian from a nearby town reported the recent theft of dozens of hens.[44]

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[40] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 198, 1565.

[41] ARV, Gobernación, num. 1389, 1590. A 1559 law specifically prohibited Morisco emigration to Polop and Callosa. *Crides, pragmàtiques, edictes*, vol. II, p. 53.

[42] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 542, 1606. On *algaravía* see Eugenio Císcar Pallarés, "'Algaravía' y 'algemía'. Precisiones sobre la lengua de los Moriscos en el reino de Valencia." *Al-Qantara* xv, 1994, and Harvey, *Muslims in Spain*, 124–25.

[43] Gerard Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado: Yça of Segovia (fl. 1450), His Antecedents and Successors*, Leiden, 1994, p. 210.

[44] ARV, Gobernación, num. 1158, 1580.

Language also played a role in the case against the Moriscos Frances Conde and Frances Tartal. The proprietor of a hostel (notorious stopping points for vagabonds and bandits) in Benifairó testified that he often saw the two in his establishment, given that they preferred gambling and wine to honest labor. Conde and Tartal then attacked two young shepherds in the countryside, tying them up and slaughtering three of their sheep before their eyes. The Moriscos shouted, "Die, dogs!" as they beat the shepherds to the ground with swords, and left the sheep's heads behind after their feast. And yet despite their dark complexion, their use of a common insult between Christians and Muslims, and their ritual bleeding of the animals in the Islamic manner, they both spoke Castilian well. This came as a surprise to the judges, who associated such crimes with a lack of assimilation, and asked if the Moriscos had come from Granada.[45]

Court judges—like their counterparts in the Inquisition—also looked upon Arabic writings with suspicion. On several occasions the justices called in expert witnesses to determine the contents of seized books. Following the arrest of the Moriscos at the castle in Játiva, the officials turned to a Franciscan friar, who identified their documents as account books, Islamic prayers, chapters from the Quran, and "a heresy that says Muhammad is an apostle and messenger of God."[46] In 1564, arguably stepping on the toes of the Inquisition, the royal court tried a Morisco on the charge of "being an *alfaqui*." To decipher the Morisco's books, the court relied on the Morisco interpreter who translated for the defendant, as well as a Morisco merchant from the Valencian capital. The merchant, identified as "the honorable" in the records, evidently did not fall under suspicion himself even though he capably described the various Arabic prayers and stories.[47] On the contrary, the judges called in a favor with the assimilated Morisco to help them untangle the knotty relationship between language and crime.

The records of the civil courts reflect a process of examination, involving the preconceived notions of judges, witnesses, and defendants alike. Unlike the inquisitors, charged with investigating crimes against the faith, the civil justices did not center their interrogations on matters of religious practice and belief. Rather than determining whether the Moriscos belonged to the community of the faithful, the judges sought to distinguish between peaceable, productive Moriscos and those who disrupted

[45] ARV, Gobernación, num. 1380, 1590.
[46] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 246, 1570.
[47] ARV, Real Audiencia, sig. 166, 1564.

the social order. Defendants demonstrated a keen awareness of the profile of the ideal Morisco: a law-abiding, loyal vassal with a family and an occupation in a settled community. They fought against the specter of the wandering Morisco with ties to Granada or the Maghreb, lacking a residence and a Christian lord. The prejudice against traveling Moriscos presented a challenge for merchants, given that their movements attracted the suspicions of government officials. The picture that arises from these criminal trials differs from that of the records of the Inquisition. Apart from an assimilated minority, most Valencian Moriscos adhered to Islam to the extent possible in Catholic Spain, a religious divide that appears again and again in accounts of autos-da-fé and inquisitorial visitations. But where violence was concerned, Old Christian and Morisco communities shared certain features. Christian seigneurs, like Morisco clans with their tradition of honor, defended a local, internal system of justice against the threat of an increasingly aggressive royal bureaucracy. The presence of competing means of conflict resolution, however, created opportunities for individual Old Christians and Moriscos to play these authorities off against one another in their search for a legal victory. Amidst this welter of overlapping jurisdictions, economic interests and political ties of loyalty could join Morisco vassals to their Christian seigneurs, or divide Morisco communities from marauding bandits.

The Dominican Jaime Bleda, in his *Chronicle of the Moors of Spain* (1618), defended the expulsion on the grounds of Morisco treason and heresy: "These evil, rabid enemies conspired against the person of the Royal Crown, and against the Christian Religion . . . For this purpose they went to Africa many times, and sent embassies to the great Turk and other Princes, enemies of Christianity."[48] Bleda thus defined the depredations of the Moriscos against the Christian populace of Spain as religious violence, comparable to the civil wars in France or the iconoclastic raids in the Netherlands. The expulsion, in this view, represented a signal victory for Philip III in the war between Christians and Muslims in the Mediterranean world. The official vision of Spain as a kingdom divided, manifested in the expulsion decree, followed from decades of earlier laws identifying the Moriscos as a distinct and potentially dangerous population. This concept of the Moriscos as traitors informed the questions that

[48] Jaime Bleda, *Corónica de los moros de España*, 1618, quoted in Miguel Angel de Bunes Ibarra, *Los Moriscos en el pensamiento histórico: Historiografía de un grupo marginado*, Madrid, 1983, p. 34.

officials and judges posed to New Christian defendants, as well as their responses. But just as the aftermath of the expulsion itself—rebellions in the mountains, quiet cooperation, pleas from assimilated Moriscos and their allies—revealed a complex Morisco world, so did the criminal trials in the half century before. On the whole, the collected testimony of farmers, merchants, officials and innkeepers in the surviving court cases bears little resemblance to Bleda's vivid and carefully constructed image of interfaith war in Spain.

CHAPTER SIX

ON MORISCO NETWORKS AND COLLECTIVES

Luis F. Bernabé Pons*

The latest historiographical reviews of the Morisco question agree that research into this sixteenth-century Spanish minority has flourished in the past thirty years. In contrast to the traditional focus on the Conversos, this abundance of historiographical research on the subject of Moors converted to Christianity is relatively recent.[1] There are a number of reasons for this development, but one of the results is that it is only in the past few years that we have finally been able to appreciate the extraordinary complexity of the Morisco question in all its political, social, cultural and religious dimensions. Far removed from the traditional, erroneously generalizing, approaches, a new image is gradually gaining ground in which the Moriscos are seen to be a diverse and bustling community with a wide range of life choices—an image that is a permanent challenge to classical accounts of the issue. This applies not only to the definitions that emerged at the time of the Moriscos in Spain, but also to the historiographical theories that have developed in the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2]

Of all the images of the Moriscos which circulated in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Hispanic society, in which the Moriscos were seen as a unified collective,[3] one of the most widely held was that, as a group, the Moriscos were perpetually engaged in conspiracies to bring down Spain. Be it in league with the enemies of the monarchy—the French, Protestants, Berbers or Turks—or on their own initiative, the Moriscos were

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* Translated by Nicola Stapleton.

1 Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Aspectos lingüísticos árabes y religiosos islámicos en los estudios sobre mudéjares y moriscos (1975–2005)," *X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Actas*, Teruel, 2007, pp. 297–330.

2 F. Márquez Villanueva, "El problema historiográfico de los moriscos," *Bulletin Hispanique*, 86 (1984), pp. 61–135. This would eventually be incorporated into his well known book *El problema Morisco (desde otras laderas)*, Madrid, 1991, pp. 98–195.

3 José María Perceval, *Todos son uno. Arquetipos, xenofobia y racismo. La imagen del morisco en la Monarquía Española durante los siglos XVI y XVII*, Almería, 1997.

accused, not only of persisting in their Muslim faith, but of conceiving sinister plots that would inevitably lead to an uprising by that minority.

After several centuries of dignified survival,[4] this view has finally been challenged by modern scholars, who have clarified the actual scope of the alleged conspiracies. Having found the effective range of such actions to be, in fact, extremely modest, historians have been able to prove that what were considered plots were no more than gatherings of fellow Muslims that took place at night in private homes or isolated locations. Other than discussion of the religious and social circumstances of those present, these meetings would involve, at most, contacts of an exploratory nature with a view to small scale actions, as well as occasional, more or less appropriate, interventions extolling messianic or providential notions.[5] In the same vein, specialists have accurately described how the authorities and well-informed individuals in general were never deceived as to the true scope of these activities. As Gregorio Colás points out with reference to the Aragon area:

> Conspiracies, contacts with the enemies of the monarchy and rearmament are commonplace topics in a historiography ridden with clichés, irrespective of ideology or chronology. At all events, today we find ourselves in a position to call into question *some* of the facts that were hitherto considered indisputable. (…) The first accounts of conspiracies date from 1569. They start to gain substance in 1577 and come to an end in 1579–1581. The leading figures indicted in the 1579–1581 trials pleaded guilty, after the customary interrogations, to practicing Islam, but none of them admitted to charges of treason or conspiracy.
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> (…) Despite its vast resources, the Inquisition was unable to substantiate these allegations, although it did manage to rid itself of a significant number of eminent Moriscos around this time. The conspiracies start as a rumor and gradually gain credibility in the course of interrogation, in which the accused are at pains to mention any interview, contact, letter, money, weapon, soldier, or indeed anything at all, that might help them avoid torture or please their inquisitor. At the end of the day, it all comes to nothing.
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> (…) One of the few members of the political class who was acquainted with the real situation of the Moriscos in Aragon, Bernardo de Bolea, always

[4] The first historiographer to point out the significance of the staying power of this image, both in the collective psyche and in historiographical sources, was F. Márquez Villanueva in "El mito de la gran conspiración morisca," in Abdeljelil Temimi ed., *Actes du II Symposium International du C.I.E.M.: Religion, Identité et Sources Documentaires sur les Morisques Andalous*, Túnez, 1984, vol. II, pp. 267–284.

[5] L. Cardaillac, "Le prophétisme, signe de l'identité morisque," in Abdeljelil Temimi ed., *Actes du II Symposium International du C.I.E.M.: Religion, Identité et Sources Documentaires sur les Morisques Andalous*, Túnez, 1984, vol. I, pp. 138–146.

> viewed such accusations with skepticism. Even the international political situation, which has sometimes been argued to have encouraged conspiracy, by this stage appears more likely to have hampered than promoted such ventures.[6]

It is no less true, however, that the authorities deliberately spread some of these rumors and fears of Morisco sedition, or of joint raids with the Turks or the Berbers, and they did so with several aims in mind. These included a desire to increase pressure on and surveillance of the Moriscos, to keep the nobility of Aragon and Valencia on a short tether (as this collective had a stake in the welfare of its Morisco workers), to justify the Inquisition's wide range of action, and to counteract any joint political initiatives with France or Turkey.[7] The fact is that, in the final quarter of the sixteenth century, the purpose of such constant allusions to the Morisco threat seems to have been to underline the political hazard embodied by the minority of Muslims newly converted to Christianity. The seed fell, of course, on fertile ground. Since the beginning of the century, the Mediterranean coast and islands had been plagued by corsair attacks from North Africa. Added to this, the entire country had been shocked and distressed by the rebellion in the Alpujarras and had witnessed the subsequent dispersion of the vanquished Moriscos of Granada throughout the Peninsula. In addition to the ubiquitous charge of apostasy leveled at those who practiced Islam in secret—a tool that was used as and when convenient—the political threat posed by the Moriscos, as Bernard Vincent[8] has shown, was the factor that would finally seal their fate and lead to their expulsion.

Recent research has shed light on some of these conspiracy allegations or suspected 'complicities,' and on the subsequent investigations by political or religious authorities, to the extent that the necessary information is now available in order to reconstruct, to a certain degree, some of the phenomena associated with the Moriscos that were not hitherto well

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[6] G. Colás Latorre, "Los moriscos aragoneses: estado de la cuestión y nuevas perspectivas," *VII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Actas*, Teruel, 1999, pp. 215–260 (pp. 243–244).

[7] See e.g. Raphaël Carrasco, "Péril ottoman et solidarité morisque (La tentative de soulèvement des morisques des années 1577–1583)," *Revue d'Histoire Meghrébine*, 25–26 (1982), pp. 33–50.

[8] "La disidencia morisca," in VV. AA., *Disidentes, heterodoxos y marginados en la Historia*, Salamanca 1998, pp. 109–117.

understood.[9] Although this does not alter the general conclusion stated above regarding the true impact of Morisco conspiracies, a careful reading of some of the accusations made against certain individuals throws light on the social circumstances prevailing in particular Morisco circles, a topic that has perhaps not yet received the attention it deserves.

The inner logic of these investigation processes meant that the Inquisition, or whoever was in charge of the inquiry, quickly began to extend the circle of people to be interrogated and charged to include the relatives, neighbors and friends of the individuals accused. Family and neighborhood relationships were thus revealed, as were contacts among Moriscos or between Moriscos and the authorities. At the very least, we get a glimpse of the contact networks that some Moriscos had built in the course of their lives. These trials also shed light on characters that might, a priori, be considered exceptional, but who turn out to be fairly commonplace, such as the Morisco spies who infiltrated their own communities on behalf of the authorities. The topic of Morisco spies within the dense web of Spanish espionage during the reign of Phillip II is yet to be researched in depth,[10] as is the collaboration between Moriscos and Christians and between Moriscos and Conversos.

In this fashion, a number of 'Morisco assemblies' have gradually been unearthed. The meetings took place at night on the outskirts of town or in private homes replacing, to some extent, the regular *aljama* meetings in the mosque, particularly when held on a Friday. They were organized and led by eminent people in the community; the speakers, in the first instance, were the elder members or those most knowledgeable on Islamic matters. These meetings were, clearly, not only an occasion for religious reflection, but also an opportunity to discuss day-to-day topics, current affairs and any other subject that might arise. As can be expected, foremost among these would be the participants' communal identity in the face of pressure from the authorities. Raphaël Carrasco provides a good example in his transcription of an inquisitorial report on a Morisco meeting in Gea de Albarracín in 1577:

> (…) and at the end of the aforesaid meal they discussed Muhammad's law. The first to speak was Master Joan Alcapín the laborer, being the eldest,

[9] As a starting point, see Louis Cardaillac (dir.), *Les Morisques et l'Inquisition*, Paris, 1990.

[10] E. Sola, y J.F. Peña, *Cervantes y la Berbería*, Madrid, 1995; J.M. Floristán Imizcoz, *Fuentes para la política oriental de los Austrias*, vol. II, León 1988, pp. 579–737.

> and he first spoke with an Arabic book in his hands which he said was the *alguazía* (advice) of Muça alí çalem, who is Moses the servant or friend of God, and so he talked about the things that Allah had spoken about to him, among them that the Moors of Aragon were bastards and born of the dirt of the road that Muhammad trod, for he had not traveled as far as Aragon nor to any land where dates and oranges do not grow, and that this is why they have had more freedom and all the commotion and tumult fell to the Moors of Granada and Valencia, because he promised that the law would not be lost among them . . . and, when he asked us what we thought, Diego de Arcos replied that we should know that the Moors of Teruel were good Moors and knew how to keep themselves safe from the Christians, and everybody replied in one voice saying that what he said was nothing but the truth . . .[11]

Such reports reveal a number of neighborhood and family networks or groups which appear time and again as participants or organizers of meetings. The men in the Morisco communities, forced into a life of silence, used these gatherings to express the grievances and hopes of their *aljamas*. Perhaps one of the best-known accounts is the one contained in the superb opening paragraphs of Mancebo de Arévalo's *Tafsira*. It recounts a meeting, in the 1530s, at which twenty Muslims living in Saragossa discuss the hardships from which Muslims were suffering at that time.[12] Such meetings obviously took place throughout the century, but it was only when the general situation regarding the Moriscos became unstable that the authorities began to pay attention to their gatherings, branding them hotbeds of conspiracy.

A further consequence of modern research into this type of conspiracy rumors is that it allows us not only to establish their true proportions but also to discover the range of action of the Morisco contact networks. These networks—if I may use what is perhaps a disproportionate term in the global perspective—were not so much created to destabilize the Spanish monarchy as to help Moriscos in their day-to-day lives and, in particular, to assist them at crucial moments, such as when the time came for them to flee from Spain in secret. It must be remembered that, as early as 1565, a sophisticated escape system had been dismantled, with the help of spies infiltrated in Morisco communities. This network had been

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[11] "Historia de una represión: los moriscos y la Inquisición de Valencia (1566–1620)," *Áreas. Revista de Ciencias Sociales*, 9 (1988), pp. 27–50, Ap. I.

[12] Mancebo de Arévalo, *Tratado [Tafsira]*, edición, introducción y notas de María Teresa Narváez Córdova, Madrid, 2003, pp. 103–104.b For a general assessment of the works of the Mancebo de Arévalo, see Leonard P. Harvey, "El Mancebo de Arévalo and his Treatises on Islamic Faith and Practice," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, Oxford, 10:3 (1999), pp. 249–276.

helping Moriscos flee to Algiers or Salonica, using the widespread trade networks run by Morisco muleteers that gave Cervantes food for thought.[13] A detailed clandestine itinerary from Aragon to Istanbul through France and Italy, used by Moriscos until their expulsion, still survives today in *aljamiado* texts.[14] In the 1530s the Mancebo de Arévalo was able to visit every location throughout Spain where he knew he would still find people who could teach Islam in some depth.[15] Even earlier, at the turn of the century, the Morisco villages on the Mediterranean coast were accused of being perfectly acquainted with the movements of Berber ships and to have their own well-planned safe escape routes laid ready:

> He added that of all the converts in this kingdom, as well as *tagarinos* [Muslims from Aragon converted and assimilated into Christian society] and Arabs that cross over to Algiers, the majority pass through the Seta Valley to see Don Rodrigo Beamont, a town official of the Valley of Seta and Guadalest, to be guided by him, and the said Don Rodrigo shows them the way and thus they arrive at the said valley and thence to Palop with the help of Gaspar Sans and from Palop to the ship. He knew this because he lives in Alcala Valley which is on the way to the said valleys of Seta and Guadalest and to Palop, and in the five years that he has been living in Alcala Valley he has seen more than a thousand souls pass through, on their way to Seta and Guadalest.[16]

Needless to say, community activities of this sort within Morisco society can and must be interpreted as an expression of solidarity among co-religionists within the spiritual context of the *aljama*.[17] This bond, which does not necessarily map into a specific physical space, such as a village or farm, encouraged mutual help among Muslims as soon as they identified one another as such. There is plentiful evidence of this fact, dating from the early sixteenth century. The famous trial of the powerful

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[13] Serafín de Tapia, "Las redes comerciales de los moriscos de Castilla la Vieja: un vehículo para sus complicidades," *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, XI (1993), pp. 231–243.

[14] Published in Mercedes Sánchez Álvarez, *El manuscrito misceláneo 774 de la Biblioteca Nacional de París (Leyendas, itinerarios, profecías sobre la destrucción de España, y otros relatos moriscos)*, Madrid, 1982, and studied by Luce López-Baralt and Awilda Irizarry, "Dos itinerarios secretos de los moriscos del siglo XVI," *Homenaje a Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes*, Madrid-Oviedo, vol. II, pp. 547–582.

[15] Leonard P. Harvey, "El mancebo de Arévalo y la tradición cultural de los moriscos," in Álvaro Galmés de Fuentes dir., *Actas del Coloquio Internacional de Literatura Aljamiada y Morisca, Oviedo (1972)*, Madrid, 1978, pp. 20–41.

[16] From the trial of Rodrigo de Beaumont (1540). See P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia, 1901; reprinted in Granada, 1992, vol. I, p. 444.

[17] M. de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, Madrid, 1992, pp. 101–118; *Id.*, "Les morisques, vus à partir des communautés mudéjares précédentes," in *Les Morisques et leur Temps*, Paris, 1983, pp. 31–41.

Valencian Morisco Cosme Abenamir, "descended from the Moorish kings of Valencia," and the spectacular network of Morisco *alfaquíes* in Spanish Levante that it reveals, are an extreme expression of a multifaceted reality[18] that I have attempted to analyze elsewhere.[19]

These attempts at collective cooperation must, however, be read through a special filter: the sometimes astonishing ability of some Morisco communities to put in place social resistance mechanisms that would enable them not only to respond to adversities, but to anticipate the kinds of support they would need once outside Spain. This capacity and its results are in some ways a challenge to the traditional image of Moriscos as socially dull people with little capacity to react to the political upheavals that threatened their existence.[20]

Surviving evidence points to two particular geographical and social groups which stand out on account of the special nature of the bonds they established. On the one hand, we have the Moriscos of Granada, whose behavior set the benchmark for relations between the Christian authorities and the various Morisco communities in the Peninsula. On the other, we have the Moriscos of the Valencia-Aragon region. By virtue of their population density, lifestyle and resistance—albeit inadequate—to evangelization efforts, they were the prime target of those who fanatically advocated a final solution to the Morisco threat. Both groups contained particular social strata whose members, on account of their status or wealth, somehow became leaders within their respective communities.

One of the most prolific areas of recent research is the social structure of the Moriscos of Granada, especially since the discovery of the ancient Muley family's royal lineage. The amount of print dedicated to the different branches of this family, some of whose members found themselves at the receiving end of fanciful conspiracy accusations,[21] is a clear indication

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[18] Ibid., vol. I, pp. 540–569.

[19] L.F. Bernabé Pons, "Aspectos lingüísticos árabes y religiosos islámicos en los estudios sobre mudéjares y moriscos (1975–2005)," pp. 316–31.

[20] Similar systems, in the sphere of culture, can be observed in the *affaire* of the Lead Books of Sacromonte: Luis F. Bernabé, "Los mecanismos de una resistencia: los Libros Plúmbeos del Sacromonte y el *Evangelio de San Bernabé*," in Mercedes García-Arenal and Manuel Barrios Aguilera eds., *Los Libros Plúmbeos del Sacromonte. Invención y tesoro*, Granada, 2006.

[21] Two members of the Muley family were charged with plotting an alleged uprising in Seville in 1580 and landed themselves in jail: Hernando Muley and his son-in-law Álvaro Enríquez. A. Domínguez Ortiz, "Desventuras de dos moriscos granadinos," *Homenaje al Profesor Jacinto Bosch Vilá*, Granada, 1991, vol. I, pp. 89–93; A.L. Cortés Peña, "Una consecuencia del exilio: los moriscos granadinos en Sevilla," in E. Belenguer Cebriá ed.,

of how it was possible to grow in status in Morisco Granada by insisting on one's aristocratic ancestry or even, on occasion, letting false attributions of noble parentage stand.[22] But parallel to the lofty pedigree of the Muley or the Válor families, we also find the giddy social ascent of the great merchant families of Granada, some of whom were related to the former. In the second half of the sixteenth century, families like the Berrios, the Adoladíns and the Cárdenas were among Granada's wealthiest[23] and were a constant presence in all the major transactions taking place in this period. We can reasonably assume that their influence was no less constant. As an example, I would like to recall the well-known fact that it was a member of the Cárdenas family, Diego, who took under his wing a good many impoverished Moriscos as they passed through France on their way to North Africa. It was this very Cárdenas, known as Mustafa in the Maghreb, who ruled the Tunisian-Hispanic Morisco community with a firm hand for thirty years.[24]

The situation of the Aragon and Valencia Moriscos had many features in common. Although these regions did not boast families whose lineage could compare to that of the Muleys or the Granada Venegas, there were several families on the east coast of Spain who could be described, without exaggeration, as extremely wealthy. The sphere of influence of the afore-mentioned Abenamir family, for instance, extended as far as the central Inquisitorial Court in Madrid, and they tried to use their leverage to halt the vicious persecution of several prominent family members by

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Felipe II y el Mediterráneo, Madrid, 1999, vol. II, pp. 537–553; B. Vincent, "Histoire d'une déchéance: la famille des Fez Muley à Grenade au XVI[ème] siècle," in N. Harich ed., *Hommage à Alain Milhou. Les Cahiers du CRIAR*, 21, vol. I, 2003, pp. 69–79; "Les rumeurs de Séville," in *Vivir el Siglo de Oro. Poder, cultura e historia en la época moderna. Estudios en homenaje al profesor Ángel Rodríguez Sánchez*, Salamanca, 2003, pp. 165–177

[22] M.J. Rubiera Mata, "La familia morisca de los Muley-Fez, príncipes meriníes e infantes de Granada," *Sharq Al-Andalus*, 13 (1996), pp. 159–167; J.A. García Luján–R.V. Blázquez Ruiz, "Don Fernando Muley de Fez. Una información genealógica (1596) del linaje Granada Venegas," *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Actas*, Teruel, 2002, vol. II, pp. 733–740; J.A. García Luján, "Don Pedro de Granada Venegas, I marqués de Campotéjar (1643), de Campo Rey y vizconde de Miravalles (1632)," *VIII Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel, 2002, vol. II, pp. 721–731.

[23] B. Vincent, "Les élites morisques grenadines," in P. Civil ed., *Siglos Dorados. Homenaje a Augustin Redondo*, Madrid, 2004, vol. II, pp. 1467–1479.

[24] "Muçt'afa de Cárdenas et l'apport des morisques à la societé tunisienne du XVIII siècle," in Ch.-André Julien et al., *Les Africains*, Paris, 1977, vol. VII, pp. 197–229 [Reedited in *Etudes sur les Morisques Andalous*, Slimane Mostafa Zbiss, Abdelhakim Gafsi, Mohieddine Boughanmi and Míkel de Epalza eds., Túnez (1983), pp. 157–178]; M. de Epalza, *Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, Madrid, 1992, pp. 268 ff.

the Court in Valencia. Another outstanding example which has been studied in greater detail is the family variously known as Compañero, Compañero-Zafar or Compañero-Navarro. Thanks to Ánchel Conte and Carmen Ansón's research,[25] we now know that this family, originally from Huesca, branched out into Calanda and, to a large extent, Saragossa, where some of its members came to be known by their enemies as "the petty kings of the Saragossa Moriscos."[26] This is not the place for a full account of the tangled web that was the Compañero family, as revealed to us by the above historians, but it is worth insisting on two facts highlighted by Carmen Ansón. The first is the enormous wealth of this family, and in particular of the central branch that settled in Saragossa and Calanda.[27] Over several decades of trading in Spain and France, and subsequently in Algiers, they had amassed vast amounts of both property and currency. The second is the ruthless persecution to which the family was subjected by the Inquisition for many years, until it was virtually decimated. Typically, this persecution combined accusations of various kinds: taking part in alleged anti-Spanish conspiracies; following Islamic beliefs and ritual practices; and, on a more material plane, "enjoying comforts appropriate to Old Christians."[28] We will return to these later.

The reason why I mention some of the most representative names of the Morisco élites in Granada and Aragon is that the leading players in the explosion of conspiracy accusations that shook Spain were members of

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[25] Á. Conte, "Nivel socioeconómico de los moriscos oscenses," V*I Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel (1999), pp. 299–317; "La rama oscense de los Compañero (apuntes biográficos)," *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, Alicante-Teruel, 13 (1996), pp. 129–144; "La decadencia de la aristocracia morisca : el caso de los Çafar de Huesca," *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, Alicante-Teruel, 14–15 (1997–1998), pp. 177–201.; M.C. Ansón, "Contribución a un estudio sociológico de los moriscos aragoneses en 1600," in Abdeljelil Temimi ed., *Actes du IV Symposium International d'Etudes Morisques sur: Métiers, vie religieuse et problématiques d'histoire morisque*, Zaghouan, 1990, pp. 73–84; "Diego de Rojas y Alonso Muñey Enríquez y Merín de Fez: ilustres esposos de Cándida Compañero," *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 18 (2004–2006), pp. 9–37.

[26] P. Aznar Cardona, *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles*, Huesca, 1612, p. 68.

[27] M.C. Ansón–M.P. Gay, "Las familias moriscas expulsadas de Zaragoza: un análisis de su número y propiedades," in Abdeljelil Temimi ed., *Actes du VII^e^ Symposium International d'Etudes Morisques sur: Famille Morisque: Femmes et Enfants*, Zaghouan 1997, pp. 72–90.

[28] M.C. Ansón, "Poder económico, poder social y persecución: tres variables significativas en procesos inquisitoriales aragoneses," in A. Mestre Sanchís–E. Giménez López eds., *Disidencias y exilios en la España moderna. Actas de la IV Reunión Científica de la Asociación Española de Historia Moderna. Alicante: 27–30 de mayo de 1996*. Alicante, 1997, pp. 193–212 (p. 199).

these families. The temperature had already been rising during the sixteenth century as a result of relentless corsair activity, which peaked with the loss of Ciudadela in 1558, and the situation was exacerbated when whole Morisco villages were seen to flee in enemy ships. When, to cap it all, the Morisco uprising occurred in Granada in 1568, it was to push the country to the verge of hysteria. Two important events of the sixteenth century need to be read against this background: the controversial disarmament policy targeting the Moriscos of Aragon, which was finally approved in 1575, after a failed attempt in 1559; and the spiraling current of rumors and conspiracy charges against the Moriscos as allies of Spain's enemies. Once the Granada rebels had been defeated and decimated, the leading families of the region were kept under constant surveillance. But as of 1570, it was the turn of the visible heads of the Aragon community to face savage and relentless persecution.

It cannot be denied that meetings between Moriscos and foreigners of a more or less clandestine nature were taking place. The best known contacts, though not yet fully understood, are perhaps those between Moriscos of Aragon and Valencia and their French counterparts. Two individuals in particular appear to have taken a leading role in these encounters during the 1570s: Enrique Compañero, the known leader of the Aragon Moriscos, and Jaime Izquierdo, considered the most distinguished Morisco in the Kingdom of Valencia. The authorities had two Morisco spies on their side: Luis Moreno and, most notably, Gil Pérez, who proved a loquacious source of Muslim names before the Inquisitorial Court. This slippery character deserves further research, given the wealth of documentation about him in the British Library, the Valencia University Library and the Archivo Histórico Nacional. It can be inferred from his behavior that he was a veritable double agent, simultaneously spying for the Holy Office and acting in favor of his own people.[29]

The surnames Compañero and Zafar became remarkably frequent in inquisitorial trials in Aragon after the arrest of Juan Compañero. To cite just two examples, Pedro Compañero and Gabriel Çafar were both convicted in 1585. Cándida Compañero was also convicted that year, and Miguel Enrique Compañero, the family's last powerful man, in 1608. Were the Compañeros really that dangerous? Is it true that they were behind every single conspiracy in Aragon?

[29] On Gil Perez's important role as a spy for the Inquisition, see Pilar Sánchez, "Ribagorza a finales del siglo XVI. Notas sobre Antonio de Bardaxí y Rodrigo de Mur," *Revista Jerónimo Zurita*, 65–66 (1992), pp. 37–52.

The answer is, obviously, no. But it is worth noticing that the name Compañero is often associated with incidents involving the Morisco élite in Aragon. For example, the Calanda Morisco Alejandro Castellano, who had traveled from Turkey to Spain to ascertain the truth of signs announcing the birth of a child who was to liberate the Moriscos, was married to Brianda Compañero. Likewise, the main Morisco meetings in Borja and Bureta were chaired by Alonso Almabneque, Juan Compañero's brother-in-law.[30]

A very conspicuous case recently described by Carmen Ansón[31] is that of Cándida Compañero Navarro, niece of the aforementioned lady of the same name and last survivor of the Saragossa branch of this large family. As Ansón points out, Cándida had a terrible life. Despite her wealth and status, from an early age she was forced to live in the Inquisition's jails or to wear a penitent's gown, as a result of the Inquisition's long-standing persecution of her family. The most outstanding fact about Cándida Compañero is that she was married twice, on both occasions to a similar type of man. Her first husband, Diego de Rojas, was a well-to-do man from Granada, resident in Valdepeñas. The marriage settlement was very favorable towards Cándida, demanding Rojas' relocation to Saragossa. He does not appear to have fulfilled this condition, and by 1604 Cándida was reported to be a widow. She remarried, and her second husband was also a man of very high social standing from Granada, as can be inferred from his name: Alonso Muley Enríquez y Merín de Fez. In other words, he was a member of the celebrated Muley family, whose name includes all the surnames of his lineage and all the pedigree studied by Rubiera. There is no doubt that he must have had a very powerful position, evidenced by the fact that his name is invariably preceded by the title "Don," sometimes next to the words "caballero" (gentleman) and "abogado" (lawyer), and he is occasionally mentioned as resident at Court. Like Cándida's first husband, he was probably a very influential man: when his wife was sentenced to death, on the very morning of the execution he confessed to having been a Muslim for four years and, astonishingly, the Aragon inquisitors withheld his conviction on the advice of the Madrid court.

The case of Cándida Compañero's husbands adds an interesting dimension to what we already knew: that the great Morisco families tended to

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[30] Luis J. Carmelo, "La simbología del 'encubierto' peninsular. Del origen valenciano a los 'moriscos' aragoneses y al gran mito portugués," *Actas del Encuentro "La política y los moriscos en la época de los Austria,"* Madrid, 1999, pp. 113–126.

[31] "Diego de Rojas y Alonso Muley Enríquez y Merín de Fez: ilustres esposos de Cándida Compañero," *Sharq Al-Andalus. Estudios Mudéjares y Moriscos*, 18 (2003–2007), pp. 9–37.

marry endogamously within the same family, or at the very least, the same social circle. We have seen it in the Granada families and have reason to suspect that the same occurred in Aragon. Gaspar Zaydejos, the eminent Morisco of Torrellas,[32] for instance, married María Ovex, from an extremely wealthy merchant family that managed to decant 30,000 ducats to France. His good friend Cándida Compañero Navarro, aunt of the above, was married to her cousin Jerónimo Çafar, also a very wealthy man. Is the case of Cándida Compañero and Alonso Muley an example of Morisco endogamy, albeit inter-familial and inter-regional? Are any conclusions to be drawn from the fact that two of the most illustrious and wealthy Morisco families in Spain married into each other on the very brink of the whole Morisco community's expulsion?

The fact is that, after 1609, among the Morisco exiles in France and Tunis, those from Granada or Aragon were conspicuously present, occupying key posts where they displayed their organizational skills. On the Granada side, for instance, a member of the Chapiz family acted as a depository for Morisco capital in Toulouse. Cándida Compañero's second husband, the aforementioned Alonso Muley, is reported by Pedro Aznar Cardona to have settled in Marseilles by 1611.[33] Again, it was a Muley who appeared before the French consulate in Tunis, representing the Moriscos who had had their wealth confiscated.[34] Likewise, the famous Morisco Jerónimo Enríquez, in direct negotiations with Istanbul and France, controlled the destinies of numerous Moriscos.

On the Aragon side, besides the intricate commercial webs built by the Compañero and Zafar families, the names Tristán Océn, Pedro Vivera and Alonso de López stand out as delegates of the Aragonese Moriscos, the latter also being a very successful man in his Parisian exile.[35] On a different front, many wealthy Castilian Moriscos were assisted by Portuguese Conversos in taking large amounts of money out of the country and in finding themselves a secure position abroad.[36]

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[32] Carmen Ansón, "Gaspar Zaydejos: destacado morisco aragonés," *Turiaso*, XVI (2001–2002), pp. 233–262; "El líder morisco de Torrellas," *IX Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo. Actas*, Teruel, 2004, pp. 577–599.

[33] *Expulsión justificada de los moriscos españoles*, Huesca, 1612, vol. II, p. 53.

[34] Míkel de Epalza, "Moriscos y andalusíes en Túnez en el siglo XVII," *Al-Andalus*, Madrid-Granada, XXXIV, 2 (1969), pp. 247–327.

[35] Robert Sauzet, "Alonso Lopez, procureur des Morisques aragonais et agent de Richelieu (1582–1649)," in Abdeljelil Temimi ed., *Actes du IIe Congrès International sur: Chrétiens et Musulmans à l'époque de la Renaissance*, Zaghouan, 1997, pp. 213–219.

[36] Jesús Carrasco Vázquez, Carrasco Vázquez, J., "Moriscos y marranos. Colaboración interesada de dos colectivos marginados en tiempos del Quijote," *III Congreso sobre la*

Such instances of collaboration among Moriscos, together with the active networks that had probably been set in motion years before their expulsion in 1609, give the impression that the transport and relocation of large numbers of Moriscos constituted a well organized affair. This is particularly true in the case of Tunis, where the arrival of wealthy Moriscos from Granada is reported before 1609. It was here that a number of Moriscos of Cherife origin subsequently began to concentrate, and where Moriscos had their own authorities, like Luis Zapata and Diego de Cárdenas, who were already leading the community in France. Here too, over 80,000 Moriscos arrived in a very short interval of time at the direct behest of Istanbul. These are too many coincidences for us to believe the phenomenon was anything other than a planned and coordinated effort by some influential Moriscos and the Ottoman sultan himself.[37]

Today we wonder at the ease with which exiled Moriscos living as far apart as the Maghreb, Turkey or even Spain, were able to communicate.[38] This is probably because we still believe that real collective action by Moriscos beyond the Peninsula was impossible. Nevertheless, these bonds of solidarity and cooperation among Moriscos within the Hispanic kingdoms, evidenced by their semi-clandestine meetings, secret escapes or plain spiritual aid, were sorely tested by the drama of expulsion. Although the networks outside Spain were clearly unable to assist all the expelled Moriscos, and were probably intended for a limited number of people, after 1609 they did attempt to reach large numbers of exiles.

We have reason to believe that the true complicities among Moriscos were not embodied in the meetings where they exchanged views, but in the infrastructures they created to provide assistance, cooperation and benefits that would help the Morisco communities deal with the hazards they faced after they had fled the Peninsula, just as the networks they

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Orden Militar de San Juan. Historia de la Orden de San Juan en tiempo del Quijote, (Alcázar de San Juan, February 2005), gone to print; "Contrabando, moneda y espionaje (el negocio del vellón: 1606–1620)," *Hispania*, LVII/3 (197 (1997), pp. 1081–1105; "Un espía morisco al servicio de Felipe III," *X Simposio Internacional de Mudejarismo*, Teruel 2007, pp. 155–168. I would like to thank Juan Carrasco for allowing me to consult some of his as yet unpublished works.

37 I have tackled this matter in "Notas para la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España," *Al-Qantara*, XXIX, 2 (2008). With regard to the relations between the expelled Moriscos and the Ottoman empire, see the works collected in Abdeljelil Temimi, *Le gouvernement ottoman et le problème morisque*, Zaghouan, 1989.

38 Jaime Oliver Asín, "Ahmad al-Hayari Bejarano. Apuntes biográficos de un morisco notable residente en Marruecos," in Jaime Oliver Asín, *Conferencias y apuntes inéditos*, ed. Dolores Oliver, Madrid, 1996, pp. 151–164.

had created within Spain had done before they left. These infrastructures provided Moriscos with access to the traditional protection of the Islamic institution of *aljama*, as well as the financial and social resources of powerful Moriscos, who maintained frequent contact with the Old Christians in their environment. Such relationships between Moriscos and Old Christians raise a number of very interesting questions which will help us assess the true scope of Morisco complicities: who was helping the powerful Moriscos and why? Did the Inquisition display the same zeal towards these collaborators as towards the Moriscos in general? Is it only chance that, for instance, the Admiral of Aragon, Don Sancho de Cardona, in 1569, and the powerful Valencia Morisco Cosme Abenamir ten years later, were both represented by the same lawyer, a man called Miçer Sarçola?[39] A notorious character worth looking into within this line of research is Gregorio de Andía, vicar of the parish of San Pablo in Saragossa. The works of Carmen Ansón, quoted above, provide evidence of this individual's involvement at every key moment in the lives of the Compañero family since the 1580s. He was present when they received the sacraments, assisted them to the best of his capacity and managed their large wealth after their expulsion in 1609. Despite certain political problems caused by his support of the *Fueros* of Aragon, Andía does not appear to have been targeted by the Inquisition. How should this character be understood in the context of Morisco persecution at the end of the sixteenth century?

The available data and these unanswered questions offer a glimpse of a Morisco community where the ties of solidarity and active cooperation were far wider and deeper than their Old Christian neighbors could have imagined. Using all the resources at their disposal, wherever they went, the Moriscos wove a network of obligations and relationships that might prove useful in the future. With the help not only of their coreligionists, but also of Old Christians and Conversos, certain Moriscos were busy working on the mechanisms that would help them face the harsh destiny that awaited them at the turn of the seventeenth century.

[39] Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia, 1901, vol. I, pp. 443–469.

CHAPTER SEVEN

AN EXTENSIVE NETWORK OF MORISCO MERCHANTS ACTIVE CIRCA 1590

William Childers

Introduction

The value of social networks for the reconstruction of communities from the past has long been recognized, elevating the concept to one of the key methodological tools of contemporary historiography. Networks are especially helpful in the study of marginalized minorities and clandestine trends, since they allow us to pull together loose threads and scattered hints. The literature on Morisco religious practice and political involvement presupposes the existence of far-flung, systematic communication among members of the minority, much of it hidden from view, continuing up to and probably even beyond the expulsions of 1609–14. Yet historians have thus far reconstructed relatively sparse examples of Morisco networks. True, several of these are of great significance, such as the complex set of relationships linking leading families of Granada to Maurophile cultural production and the Lead Books hoax.[1] Another major example of Morisco families working in a coordinated way over an extensive geographical area is the set of agents collaborating to safeguard the persons and property of prominent members of the community as they made the transition to exile beginning in 1609.[2] A third example may be found in Enrique Soria Mesa's forthcoming work on endogamy in the Morisco elite that persisted in Granada until the late eighteenth century, maintaining the capacity to bring distant cousins together for marriage over a geographical range extending from Almería to Ocaña.[3] Despite these

[1] Mercedes García-Arenal and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español. Los moriscos y el Sacromonte en tiempos de Contrarreforma*, Madrid, 2010, pp. 75–115.

[2] Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Notas sobre la cohesión de la comunidad morisca más allá de su expulsión de España," *Al-Qantara*, XXIX 2 (2008) pp. 307–32.

[3] Described in his paper "¿Un nuevo modelo familiar? La endogamia entre la nueva élite morisca granadina (ss. XVIIXVIII)," presented at the conference *La familia morisca y la historia socia.l. Fuentes, métodos e historiografía*, Seminario Internacional, University of Seville, 5 April 2011. See also his article "De la conquista a la asimilación. La integración

undeniably important cases, however, we know there must be many more that have not as yet been uncovered by historical research. How can we reconstruct these Morisco networks we know must exist, but have not been able to find?

This article presents and interprets specific evidence for the existence of a geographically vast but remarkably coherent network of Moriscos engaged in coordinated activity both inside Granada and throughout the Crown of Castile from 1587 to 1591. The members of the network appear to be merchants engaged in a coordinated manipulation of the legal system in order to circumvent the restriction on travel imposed on the Moriscos from Granada after their deportation to other territories within the Crown of Castile in 1570. Their primary commerce is silk, but they also trade in other products, such as woolen cloth, and possibly wool and sugar. The evidence for the existence of this network comes from documents concerning legal proceedings initiated by families and individuals from Granada claiming Old Christian status. It is conserved in the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS) among the papers of the Junta/Consejo de Población in the Cámara de Castilla (CdC). While this documentation is well-known to historians working on the Moriscos from Granada, its potential for enriching our understanding of the minority is nonetheless far from exhausted.

Documentary Context

The present study uses a neglected source, the registry books (*libros de cédulas*) of the Council on Population (*Consejo de Población*) to bring to light the existence of an extensive network of Morisco merchants active at the beginning of the 1590s. These books record official actions requiring the royal seal (*cédula*) taken by the Council between 1571 and 1596. This body administered the confiscated property of Granadan Moriscos deported during and after the Alpujarras War, as well as enforcing strict policies of control and surveillance of their persons, both inside and outside the Kingdom of Granada, after their deportation during the war. From September 1585 to January 1596, by royal decree the Council on Population held sole jurisdiction over the question of who was and who was not a Morisco. Many descendants of Granadan Moors claimed exemption

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de la aristocracia nazarí en la oligarquía granadina. Siglos XV–XVII," *Áreas* 14 (1992) pp. 51–64.

from Morisco status, usually based on one of two justifications: 1) they claimed that their ancestors converted to Christianity before the Conquest of Granada in 1492 and were therefore *cristianos viejos de moros*; or 2) they acknowledged their mothers (and sometimes grandmothers as well) were Moriscas, but claimed to be descended exclusively from *cristianos viejos* on the male line. Some also argued for at least partial exemption from the restrictions of Granadan Moriscos, claiming to be descended from other Muslim converts, such as Mudejars from Campo de Calatrava or Hornachos, or North African captives who had converted of their own free will, known as *berberiscos* or *gacís*. These litigants' goal was to avoid the prohibitions to which the Granadan Moriscos were subject, particularly against carrying arms and against travelling without authorization outside the cities or towns where they were enrolled (*alistados*) upon being deported. As we will see in the case of the network under discussion here, many of these litigants were merchants, who would have found it impossible to earn their living without being exempt from the restrictions on travel applied to the Moriscos. The Council on Population received thousands of documents pertaining to this litigation, most of which have not been conserved, though over three hundred cases remain among their papers in the Cámara de Castilla (CdC) in the Archivo General de Simancas (AGS). We can reconstruct much of the content of the missing documentation, however, from the registry books.[4]

One type of document relating to the litigation of those who claimed exemption from the status of Morisco that proves particularly useful in discovering Morisco socioeconomic networks are the authorizations to conduct legal interrogations of a specific set of witnesses, termed in these registries *recepturías*. These authorizations are addressed to the highest local judicial authority or authorities where the proposed witnesses lived, usually a *corregidor*. Each authorization contains a list of the witnesses the litigants intend to present. The prosecutor for these cases, Ruy Pérez de Ribera, succeeded in imposing the requirement that all witnesses be certified as Old Christians. This was to prevent fraud by precluding Moriscos' serving as witnesses in each others' lawsuits. It posed a challenge to the litigants, especially to those who had left the Kingdom of Granada along with the rest of their communities, and were spread across Murcia,

[4] I am currently engaged in a systematic study of this documentation. Some 900 cases are recorded in Simancas, for about one third of which an original lawsuit is conserved, while the rest must be reconstructed based on the references in the *libros de cédulas* and *memoriales*.

Andalusia, La Mancha, Extremadura, and Old Castile. They would now have to re-establish contact with Old Christians they had known in Granada, despite severe punishments for those caught returning. Many of the witnesses they present still live in the Kingdom of Granada, but may be traveling on business to areas readily accessible to the litigants. The necessity to track down and interrogate certifiably Old Christian witnesses who can give testimony on their behalf led Morisco litigants to collaborate with one another in the organization and presentation of their cases in the late 1580s and early 1590s. Thus a substantial number of witnesses appear on more than one list. Libros 258 and 264 contain some 196 *recepturías*. Though many have little or no overlap, others share enough witnesses to conclude that the various litigants must have been in contact with one another, though it is not immediately clear how tightly coordinated this contact is, nor whether it is only for the purpose of the cases at hand, or involves other kinds of relations and activities. One network stands out in particular, due to the prominence of at least some of the litigants, their wide geographical distribution, the frequency with which a core group of witnesses are repeated, and the fact that all of these authorizations are addressed to the *corregidor* of Madrid, because they all involve witnesses described as "*vecinos de Granada, estantes en esta Corte*" (citizens of Granada, temporarily residing at Court).[5]

Thirty-two authorizations in which at least some of the witnesses are *vecinos de Granada estantes en la Corte* are addressed to the *corregidor* of Madrid, involving just over one hundred litigants in total.[6] The geographical distribution of the network ranges from Granada through Andalusia (Seville, Jaén, Baeza), and la Mancha (Ciudad Real, Ocaña, Almagro), up to Toledo, Madrid, and Pastrana, branches out to Extremadura (Trujillo), and into Old Castile (Valladolid, Segovia, Salamanca). Interestingly, most of these places are represented by only one or two cases, contributing to the sense of this far-flung grouping as a true network in the spatial

[5] Though I have translated *vecino* by "citizen" here, I am aware of the problematic nature of that equivalence, and have chosen in what follows to keep the original Spanish legal term, *vecino*, for which a more literal translation is, of course, "neighbor." Being a *vecino* of a town or city entitled one to specific rights and implied definite obligations, in accordance with *local* laws and customs, not *national* ones, as the anachronistic "citizen" implies. "Resident" cannot be used, however, since the crucial *vecino/estante* distinction would then be lost.

[6] None of the *probanzas* authorized by these *recepturías* has come to light. Most, presumably, were returned to their owners once the judicial review of their cases was complete. A few might be preserved, most likely among the thousands of uncatalogued bundles of papers in the *Consejos* section of the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid.

sense, spread across a broad catchment zone defined by distant outposts. But two places stand out: Pastrana and Toledo, with six and five cases, respectively. The prominence of Pastrana already appears to indicate a connection with the silk trade, since the Duke of Pastrana gained royal permission to resettle a colony of Moriscos in his territory for large-scale silk production.[7] As I will attempt to show in greater detail below, this indeed appears to be, in large part, a network of silk merchants.

The table below (Table 1) lists, in chronological order, the authorizations sent to the *corregidor* of Madrid involving witnesses said to be *vecinos* in Granada, *estantes* at Court. I have numbered them from 1 to 31, and will use these numbers throughout this article to refer to these authorizations and, more generally, to the cases to which they relate.[8] The dates range from October 1587 to December 1591, a period of just over four years, with several gaps of five to eight months. On four occasions batches of 2 to 5 authorizations were issued on the same day, a fact to which I will return shortly. I have included, to the right, columns giving the total number of witnesses and the number residing in Madrid (usually the same, since 80% of these cases rely exclusively on witnesses at Court).[9] The total number of witnesses in a single case ranges from five to twenty-six, with an average of twelve.

For the litigants, only the following information is given in the authorizations: their names, places of residence, and the familial relations among them. A few are known to historians as prominent members of the Granadan community in exile (see section 3 below for details concerning individuals and families). For the witnesses, however, the trades and professions of one fourth of them appear, constituting an interesting range of educated professionals and skilled craftsmen. A number of trades are represented by only one individual, including locksmith, shoemaker, hosier (*calcetero*), silk spinner (*hilador de seda*), doublet maker (*jubetero*), and leather embosser (*gaudamacilero*). The two solicitors are among the witnesses appearing in the largest number of cases, twenty

[7] Aureliano García López, *Señores, seda y marginados. La comunidad morisca en Pastrana*, Guadalajara, 2009.

[8] Numbers 17 and 17_{bis} are exactly the same list, which was issued twice for the same litigants, for reasons still unknown.

[9] In the seven cases that include witnesses from outside Madrid, the remaining witnesses live in: Case 1, Almagro; Case 5, Granada and Alhendín; Case 13, Toledo; Case 15, Granada; Case 28, Trujillo; Case 30, Granada and Almuñécar; and Case 31, Ocaña, Baeza, Jaén, Granada, and Alfacar de la Vega. The lists of these witnesses are given in the Appendix.

Table 1. Witness authorizations sent to the Corregidor de Madrid, 1587–1591

Num.	Date	Folio(s)	Litigants listed in the authorization	Vecindad	Witnesses—Total/in Madrid	
1	28 Oct 1587	167r	Alonso and Lorenzo de Mendoza, brothers	Almagro	7	2
2	31 Oct 1587	169r	Alonso, Baltasar and Miguel Vázquez Güízar, brothers, and Lorenzo Vázquez, Miguel Vázquez Güízar's son	Salamanca	8	8
3	4 Dec 1587	177r	Melchor Redondo and Francisco de Talavera, brothers	Toledo	8	8
4	11 Dec 1587	179v–180r	Álvaro de Soto, el Tunecí	Granada	7	7
5	7 Feb 1588	187v	Pedro el Jaení	Valladolid	17	4
6	16 Feb 1588	188v	Hernando Luján	Pastrana	9	9
7	16 Feb 1588	189r	Miguel López	Pastrana	8	8
8	18 May 1588	203r	Alonso Vélez de Mendoza, *el Viejo*, Martín Hernández de Mendoza, his nephew, and Alonso, Álvaro, and Andrés Vélez de Mendoza, his sons	Ciudad Real	10	10
9	26 Jan 1589	236v	García Hernández, and his sons Pedro and Francisco García; Pascual García and Damián Zacarías, brothers, and Miguel, Luis, Damián, and Jerónimo García, sons of Pascual García	Baeza Pastrana	15	15
10	26 Jan 1589	237r	Sebastián and Andrés López de Nápoles, brothers	Pastrana	26	26
11	26 Jan 1589	237r	Luis Hernández el Bixay, Miguel Hernández, his son, and Sebastián Hernández, his grandson	Pastrana	16	16
12	26 Jan 1589	237v	Luis de Granada	Huécija	16	16
13	26 Jan 1589	237v	Francisco Juárez el Hipe, and his first cousin Alonso Díaz	Granada Toledo	6	6
14	2 Mar 1589	249v	Melchor and Lorenzo Pérez de Berrio, brothers, and Juan, Alonso, and Luis Pérez de Berrio, sons of Lorenzo	Seville	10	10
15	2 Mar 1589	249v	Luis and Miguel de Rueda, brothers	Pastrana	6	3
16	24 Jun 1589	258v	Luis Méndez de Ribera Francisco, Miguel, and Diego de Ribera Francisco and García de Ribera	Pinto Melgar Valladolid	6	6

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Num.	Date	Folio(s)	Litigants listed in the authorization	Vecindad	Witnesses—Total/in Madrid	
17	26 Aug 1589	261r	Bernardino Sánchez and his son Jerónimo Sánchez	Pastrana	16	16
18	26 Aug 1589	261r	Cristóbal, Simón, and Gabriel de Córdoba, brothers	Jaén	16	16
19	26 Aug 1589	261r–261v	Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz and Alonso de Chaves his son and Íñigo de Chaves his nephew	Baeza	13	13
17bis	7 Oct 1589	265v	Bernardino Sánchez and his son Jerónimo Sánchez	Pastrana	16	16
20	28 Oct 1589	267v	Miguel d'Escobedo *mayordomo*	Madrid	6	6
21	3 Mar 1590	270r–270v	Álvaro and Luis Gómez	Granada	8	8
22	29 Sep 1590	279v	Don Alonso Aduladín and Augustín de Zafra y Mendoza, brothers	Granada	5	5
23	13 Oct 1590	280v	Luis and Juan de Molina, brothers, and Luis, Roque, Juan, Pedro, Manuel, Hernando, and Luis de Molina	Segovia	5	5
24	17 Nov 1590	281v	Hernando de Rojas	Toledo	15	15
25	17 Nov 1590	282r	Juan, Alonso, and Lorenzo Blanco, and their sons Francisco, Luis, Alonso, and Francisco Blanco	Yepes and Ocaña	15	15
26	17 Nov 1590	282r	Francisco Hernández, Hernán Pérez and Lorenzo Rodríguez, brothers, and Alonso, Martín, and Francisco Hernández, sons of Francisco Hernández	Chinchón	15	15
27	10 Jan 1591	283r	Jerónimo Pérez el Jayar	Toledo	16	16
28	21 Mar 1591	285r–285v	Jerónimo, Álvaro, Miguel, Felipe, Luis, and Alonso de Cazorla	Trujillo	23	12
29	19 Nov 1591	293v	Melchor Oleilas and Domingo de Aguilar	Pinillos	5	5
30	27 Nov 1591	293v	Bernardino de Guzmán	Toledo	9	1
31	12 Dec 1591	294v	Alonso, Álvaro, Bernardino, Juan, and Lorenzo Rodríguez; Álvaro, Bernardino, Cristóbal, Francisco, Hernando, Lorenzo, and Luis de Mendoza; and Agustín, Bartolomé, and Francisco de Pliego	Baeza and Ocaña	13	3

Source: AGS, Cámara de Castilla, Cédulas, Libro 258.

and fifteen times, respectively, whereas the three *escribanos* appear only five times altogether. The three carpenters play a significant role, appearing two, ten, and sixteen times, for a total of twenty-eight. Though only one witness, Alonso Suárez, is identified as a silk merchant (*sedero*), he is one of the most prominent, appearing in thirteen cases. But the most frequent of all is Pedro López, a *monedero* (minter of coins), who appears in twenty-two out of thirty-two lists, more than two thirds, and over the longest period as well, from October 1587 to March 1591. Just how important any of these trades or professions may be in relation to the activities of the network as a whole is uncertain, but we should keep in mind both the general bourgeois and petty bourgeois class make-up they imply, as well as the specific talents or contacts that might have been valuable to the group independent of their ability to serve as witnesses in the litigation *per se*. (Certainly Pedro López' profession implies access to precious metals, always important for mercantile activity.) In the next section, I analyze the distribution of the individual witnesses across the lists, as a means for differentiating between the core of the network and its periphery. Based on the result of that analysis, I undertake an initial description of the nature of this network and its development over time.

Witness Distribution and the Description of the Network

Based on data concerning the distribution of witnesses, it is possible to offer an initial characterization of this network, identifying its principal witnesses, its core and periphery, its periods of formation, consolidation, and apparent dissolution, and its geographical distribution. This picture in turn raises questions that point us beyond what this document can explicitly tell us. After this initial characterization, I will present further data from other sources on some of the individuals and families involved, before attempting a speculative interpretation of the network based on what is known about it at this point.

Table 2 shows the distribution of all Madrid witnesses present in at least two cases, arranged in order of first appearance.[10] A clear differentiation

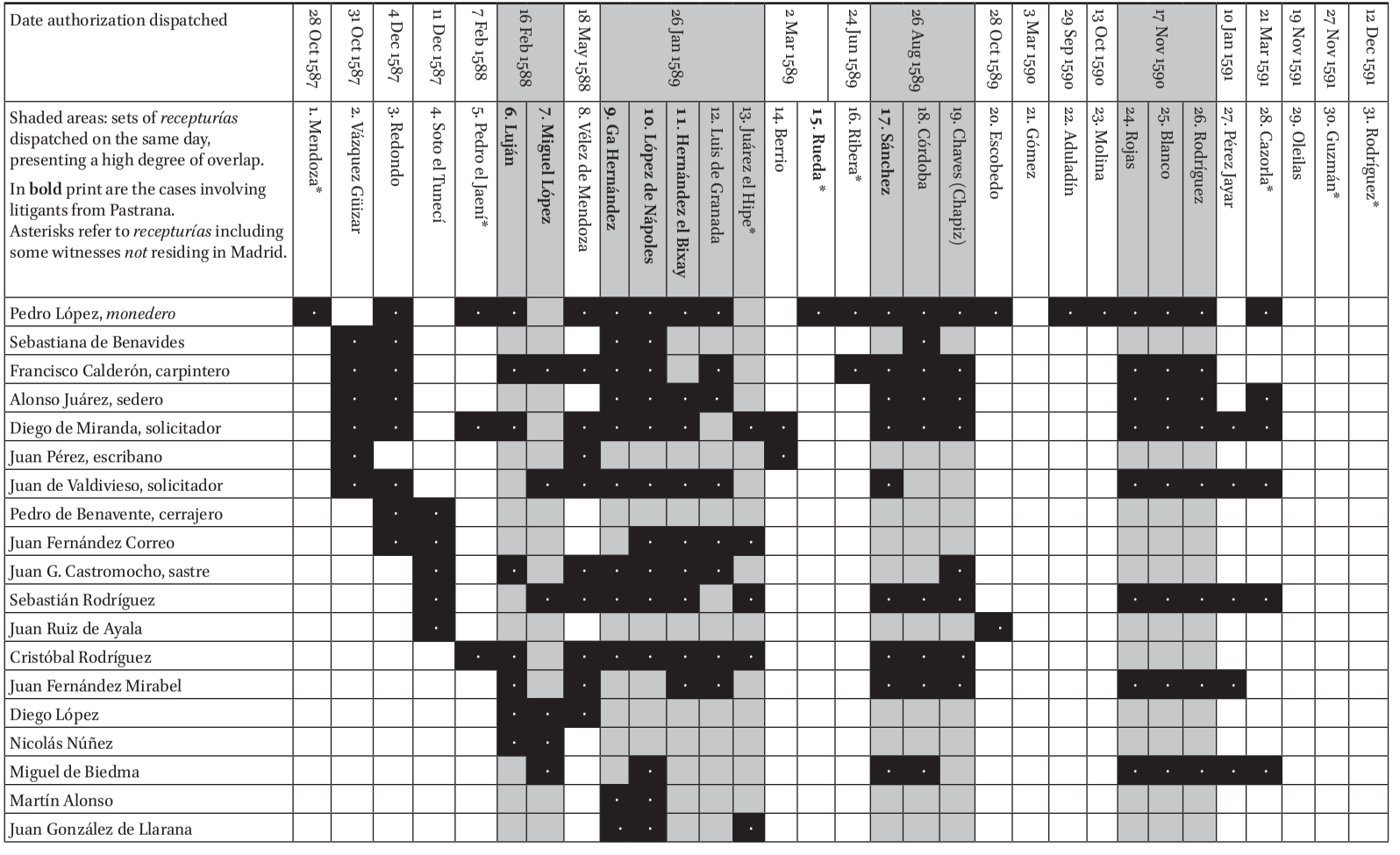
[10] Those who appear only once are set aside, as offering no basis for comparison between lists, and therefore no evidence for the configuration of the network as a set of relations. Witnesses not discussed here are listed in the Appendix. The witness lists for cases 14 (Berrio), 23 (Molina) and 28 (Cazorla) are interesting in their own right, as they include prominent citizens of Granada, Madrid, Trujillo, Guadix, and Úbeda, whose willingness to testify on behalf of these litigants shows the powerful circles in which they moved.

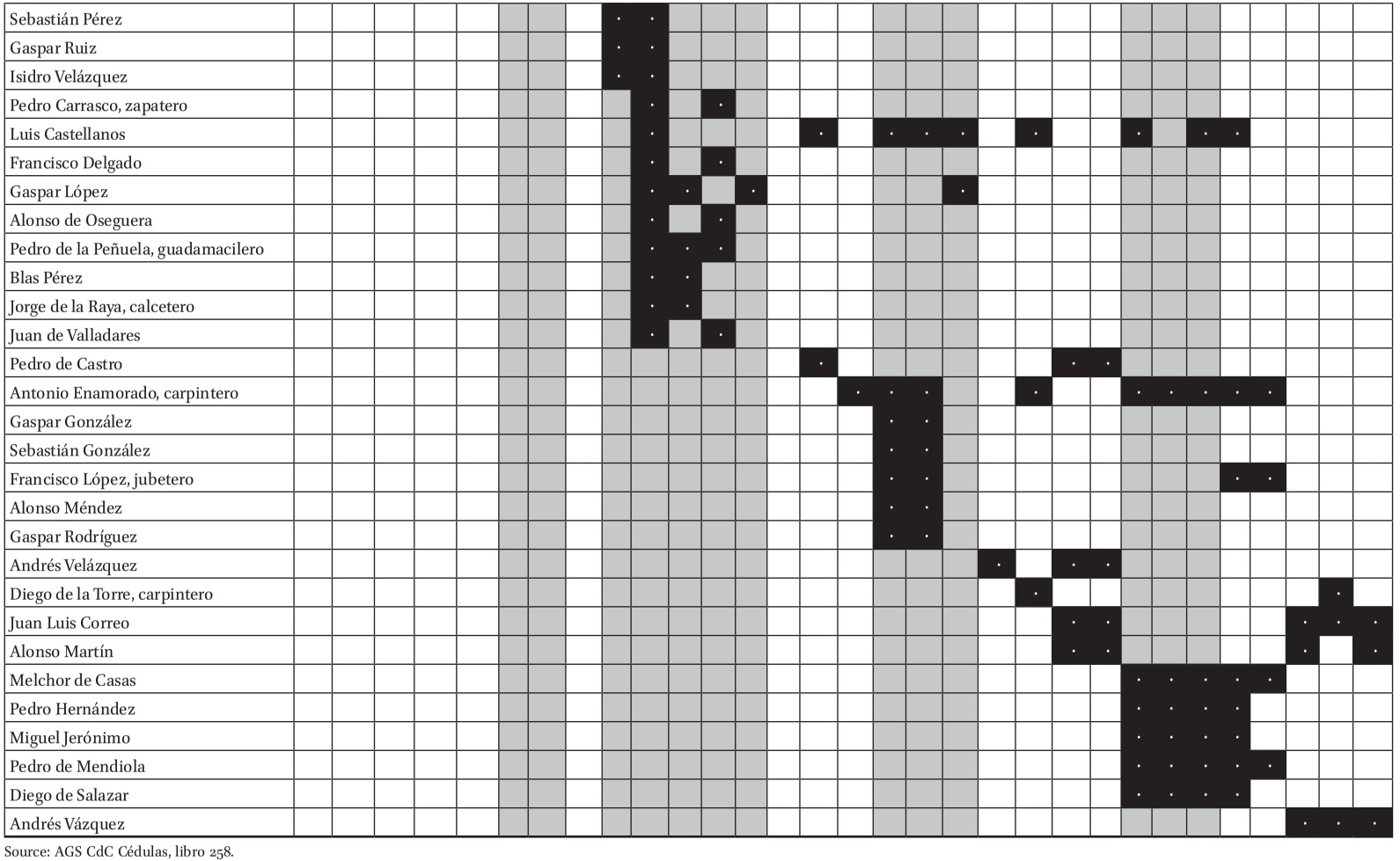
between core and periphery emerges when the lists are graphed. The high degree of overlap in lists presented on the same days (the shaded gray areas on the graph) marks them as the central axis of the network. The graph shows this overlap as groups of black squares massed together, primarily in the gray areas. Yet from the beginning, and appearing sporadically throughout, there are also examples of lists which only slightly overlap with the witness core revealed in Table 2. The areas of empty white space in columns 1, 5, 14–16, and 20–23, which interrupt otherwise solid black lines running across the table, reflect the existence of peripheral cases that barely touch this network, incorporating only two or three of its witnesses, while presenting other residents in Madrid on their own.[11] Despite relatively few shared witnesses among columns 2–4 and 6–8, most of the witnesses they present separately are gathered together in the block of authorizations dispatched on 26 January 1589 (columns 9–13). Thus the early lists accumulate a critical mass of witnesses who will be maintained in subsequent years. The foundational witnesses established in the first seven months run across a significant range of the cases, as the black bands in the top 14 rows show. They anchor the network throughout the period from 1587 until early 1591, when they abruptly disappear, as demonstrated by the white space that plunges down through the last three columns (29–31). Soon after, the authorizations stop being sent to Madrid altogether, and the network's activity in the legal arena ceases. I will henceforth refer to cases 1, 5, 14–16, 20–23, and 29–31 as the *periphery* of the network, and cases 2–4, 6–13, 17–19, and 24–28, which share a higher proportion of the witnesses dating back to the early period, as the *core*.

As reflected in the data presented in Table 2, the core takes shape in late 1587 and early 1588. The formative stage reaches its peak between February 16, 1588, when lists for two individual litigants, Hernando Luján and Miguel López, both from Pastrana, are approved on the same day, and May 18, 1588, when a large group of litigants, the Vélez de Mendoza family in Ciudad Real, presents ten witnesses living in Madrid, all of whom have appeared in one or more cases previously, and most of whom will go on to be among the principal witnesses for the network in the coming years. At this point the network connects Pastrana to Toledo and Granada, runs through Ciudad Real, and has an outpost in Salamanca.

[11] Case 5, that of Pedro el Jaení, does include four core witnesses, but gives the names of thirteen others, all living in Granada rather than Madrid (see Appendix for the full list).

Table 2. Distribution of all witnesses appearing in more than one case.





Source: AGS CdC Cédulas, libro 258.

There is no further activity for seven months, but meanwhile quite a bit of preparation must be going on behind the scenes, since five of the network's authorizations are suddenly approved on the same day, January 26, 1589. These involve 17 litigants—11 from Pastrana, 3 from Baeza, and 1 each from Toledo, Granada, and Huécija (Almería)—and 27 witnesses: 13 from earlier lists, plus 14 new ones. Significantly, 26 of those 27 witnesses are listed in a single case, that of the brothers Sebastián and Andrés López de Nápoles (see Table 2 column 10), marking them as a focal point, perhaps even the network's leaders. From this moment we can speak of a consolidated network, then, with its center of gravity clearly focused on Pastrana, and a strong axis running down through New Castile and the Kingdom of Jaén into Granada.

Exactly seven months later, on August 26, three lists are authorized by the Council, with litigants from Pastrana, Jaén, and Baeza. The highly overlapping lists combine most of those originally brought together in the Spring of 1588, plus a new block of six; but all of the 14 witnesses that were new in January have disappeared except for one, Luis de Castellanos (mentioned in section 3 below). Table 2 clearly reveals this pattern, according to which the original core of witnesses remains stable (represented by the long black rows running across the top rows, only interrupted by the peripheral cases), with overturn among batches of newer ones (shorter black bands in rows appearing further down, mainly in the gray areas that represent authorizations issued on the same day). Over a year now goes by with no activity from the core of the network, though some of their key witnesses appear sporadically in lists authorized for cases from the periphery. The last burst of five authorizations for the network's core are processed, first in a block of three on November 17, 1590, and then in two isolated instances in January and March of 1591. The coherence of the group is at its height: thus columns 24, 25, and 26 of Table 2 are almost identical. The geographical concentration in this final phase is in New Castille: Toledo, Yepes, Ocaña, and Chinchón. But the last authorization associated with the core of the network oddly displaces its spatial orientation westward, at the same time as it seems to announce a deeper change. Case 28 involves the Cazorla family, six litigants in Trujillo, and although their list includes a dozen core witnesses living in Madrid, the other 11 of their 23 witnesses live in Trujillo, and include an impressive array of leading citizens of that Extremaduran city (see Appendix). This is the last list containing any of the twelve most frequent witnesses of the network. Their coordinated activity as a group has either ended, or, as I am more inclined to think, abandoned the legal arena for the commercial sphere.

As we have seen, the pattern of witness distribution in the high period of the core's operation is quite consistent. A group of witnesses established early on remains stable, with additional blocks rotating periodically. Moreover, although it is difficult to be certain, since professions/trades are only given for a quarter of the witnesses, it appears that a class distinction can be made between the stable group, on the one hand, which includes Pedro López, Alonso Suárez, and Diego de Miranda, a minter, a silk merchant, and a solicitor, and, on the other, the temporary groups brought in, where somewhat humbler trades prevail—shoemaker, doublet maker, hosier, and leather embosser. (Carpenter is the ambiguous case, since each of the three carpenters comes in at a different stage: 1587, 1589, and 1590. Francisco Calderón is part of the stable group, while Antonio Enamorado, though he comes in later, does not rotate out as quickly as the rest of his cohort, and Diego de la Torre appears only twice.)

Below I have included a map (figure 1) on which the places belonging to the geography of the network are labeled. The core locations are represented by black circles, while peripheral places appear as white circles. The size of each circle is determined by the number of cases with litigants from that place, ranging from one (the most common) to six (Pastrana). The size of the typeface with which the place name is written reflects the number of litigants, ranging from one up to fifteen, the maximum again represented by Pastrana. Solid gray lines of varying thickness represent connections between the core places of the network, with dotted lines depicting similar connections to the periphery. This map shows more clearly than a mere list of cases could how powerfully the network is dominated by the Granada-Pastrana axis, with Baeza and Toledo (not Madrid) serving as the principal links between them. Also clear is the proliferation of places in New Castile that are well-integrated into the network, even if a relatively small number of cases/litigants are associated with them: Ocaña, Chinchón, Yepes, Ciudad Real.[12] On this map, despite the ties to the network's core of the litigants in Salamanca and Trujillo, those places appear almost as peripheral to it as Seville and Valladolid. These are all

[12] In the case of Ciudad Real, the typeface would have been large regardless, since the Vélez de Mendoza case involves five litigants, but I also associate Domingo de Aguilar with Ciudad Real, thus adding a second case as well as a sixth litigant. Domingo de Aguilar's place of residence is not given in the *recepturía*, but Francisco J. Moreno Díaz lists him (and I am assuming it is the same person) as the twelfth largest Morisco real estate holder in Ciudad Real in 1610, with properties worth 118,282 *reales*. (*Los Moriscos de la Mancha*, Madrid, 2009, p. 515).

relatively distant outposts as compared with the central axis, which runs due north from Granada through the Kingdom of Jaén and La Mancha, veering slightly eastward toward the protected territory of the Duke of Pastrana.

A picture thus emerges of a network core consisting of a group of litigants based along a route from Granada to Pastrana, with a handful of literate professionals in Madrid who serve as their agents. The agents either keep track of artisans from Granada who happen to be in Madrid and can serve as witnesses, or perhaps even bring them to court for that purpose. As the dispatching of the authorizations three and five at a time shows, the litigants and their agents coordinate the presentation and processing of the documents needed to confirm the status as Old Christians of the Moriscos in the network. This well-organized, efficient operation focuses for about three years on the objective of certifying the Old Christian

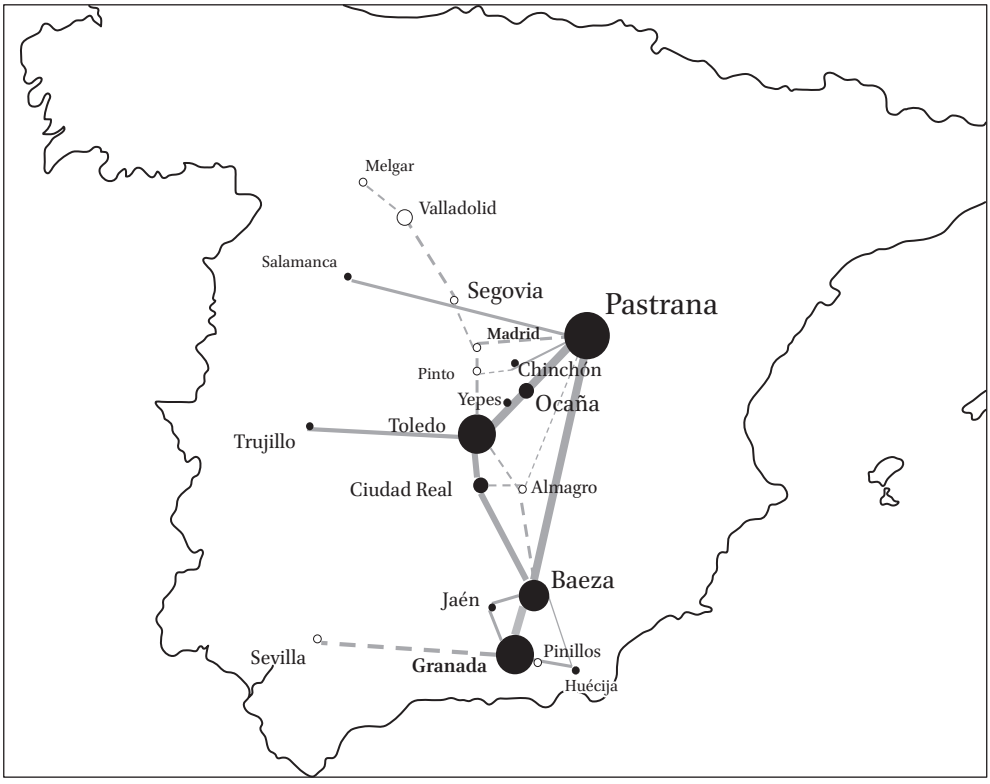


Figure 1. Map of Spain showing the places associated with the network.

status of over fifty adult males (referring just to the core), and then abruptly ceases. We do not currently know whether the network continues to exist once all of the authorizations have been processed.

At this point, we have reached the limit of what we can learn about the network from this source alone. A flood of questions now busts upon us, for most of which we have no definite answers as yet. Why was this network formed? What relations exist among the litigants, apart from their engagement in the same legal process? What relations exist between them and the witnesses? How long are the witnesses in Madrid, and why are they there? How do the litigants come to present them as witnesses precisely at the moment when they are at Court? Might these witnesses be Moriscos themselves? Are some or all of them witnesses for hire, in possibly fraudulent cases? Why does the network, gradually built up and consolidated for three years, so abruptly discontinue this activity? Before attempting a speculative answer to these questions in the form of a hypothetical model of what might undergird and unify this group of cases, I wish to briefly summarize additional information, both from documents in Simancas and from other archives, about some of the individuals and families involved.

Additional Information on Members of the Network

Although little is known concerning most of the litigants and witnesses in the *recepturías* sent to the *corregidor* of Madrid, for all but a handful of the cases, the records of the Consejo de Población show the presentation of other documents, allowing us to piece together more information about many of these families. We can also flesh out our understanding by reference to other documents conserved in Simancas or elsewhere. I will mention these documents where relevant over the next few pages.

The litigants are certainly among the wealthiest Moriscos in exile; many are merchants, primarily in the textile trade. Several of the central families in this network were silk merchants in Pastrana. As noted above, the witness distribution points to the brothers Sebastián and Andrés López de Nápoles (case 10) as key figures, perhaps even the coordinators of the entire network; Aurelio García López describes them, as well as the Sánchez family (case 17), as *mercaderes de la seda*, and finds them still engaged in litigation concerning their Old Christian status as late at 1597. He also refers to Miguel López (case 7) as a *mercader*, and shows

that his bid to be recognized as Old Christian continued as late at 1601.[13] Other litigants associated with the textile industry include Gabriel de Córdoba (case 18), *mercader, vecino de Jaén*, documented purchasing *paño Morisco veinticuatreno* in Baeza in 1601, and Miguel de Córdoba, *tintorero* (case 28).[14] Several witnesses, as well, are involved in the silk industry, including Alonso Suárez, silk merchant (*sedero*), present in thirteen *recepturías*, and his wife, Sebastiana Rodríguez, also a witness in five cases; and Juan de Vera, *torcedor de seda*, who appears in the fourth authorization, that of Soto el Tunecí, dispatched during the formative stage. The three tailors, the doublet maker, and the hosier relate indirectly to the textile trade by virtue of the fact that they work with cloth.

That the authorizations of Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz, and his son and nephew, living in Baeza (case 19), should have been processed on the same day as the Sánchez family from Pastrana and the Córdoba brothers from Jaén, is highly suggestive. According to García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz was not only one of the richest men of the Albaicín before the War of the Alpujarras, he was also a translator of the Lead Books, with perhaps more involvement in that affair than has heretofore been recognized.[15] As we have seen, this network takes shape during the Spring of 1588; the first discovery relating to the Lead Books, that of the manuscript in the Torre Turpiana, took place on 19 March 1588. Lorenzo el Chapiz had ties through marriage to the Hermes family, influential Granadan Moriscos settled in Pastrana.[16] Indeed in 1584, Felipe Hernández el Chapiz, undoubtedly related to this family, ran a workshop in Pastrana spinning silk. He claimed Old Christian status, and said he left Granada for Pastrana because the silk industry was flourishing there.[17] It appears that the Chapiz/Chaves family had less trouble in Baeza than in Jaén in persuading authorities of the legitimacy of their claims to Old Christian status. The documents this family presents to the Consejo de Población concern a nephew, Íñigo de Chaves, who is said to

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[13] Aurelio García López, *Señores, seda y marginados*, pp. 132–33.

[14] Archivo Histórico Municipal de Baeza, 3/1/22(Protocolos, Sánchez de Ocha 1601) fols 958r–959v (7 Sept 1601). Concerning Miguel de Córdoba, *tintorero, vecino de Granada*, there is quite a bit of documentation in AGS, both Cámara de Castilla and Estado, including a case from 1610 (Legajo 252) in which he sought to avoid expulsion. Although he won the legal case, he was expelled due to persistent rumors concerning his disloyalty to the Crown.

[15] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano, *Un Oriente español*, 111–14.

[16] Enrique Soria Mesa, "La asimilación de la élite morisca en la Granada cristiana, el ejemplo de la familia Hermes," *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac*, Túnez, 1995, vol. 2, pp. 649–58.

[17] García López, *Señores, seda y marginados*, p. 132.

living in Jaén, which happens to be where the Córdoba brothers also live. Íñigo is arrested twice in the 1580s for carrying a sword, and each time it is his uncle's credentials he presents to local officials.[18] Together, then, these three authorizations presented on the same day show a strong connection between silk merchants and artisans in Pastrana and their associates in Baeza and Jaén, and these ties are reinforced through marriage alliances.

Some figures peripheral to this network are leading members of others. The most important example is the Berrio family (case 14), prominent merchants who by this time had fixed their residence in Seville. They were the principal agents in lengthy but ultimately unfruitful negotiations with the Crown for the return of several thousand families to Granada.[19] Like most of the others, their *recepturía* consists entirely of *vecinos* from Granada living in Madrid, but only two, Juan Pérez, *escribano*, and Diego de Miranda, *solicitador*, belong to this network; the Berrios' own exclusive witness list includes members of a higher social class, such as don Jorge de Baeza, doña María Cajal de Sotomayor, and Antonio Garrido de Villena (see Appendix for complete list).[20] Lorenzo de Berrio's sons, Juan and Luis Pérez de Berrio, were living in Baeza during this period and must have been in contact with the Chapiz/Chaves family there. Indeed, Luis Pérez de Berrio, who studied at the University of Baeza, was accused by the Inquisition of transcribing the Qur'an in his spare time. It is interesting to note, given the connections between Lorenzo Hernández el Chapiz and the Lead Books affair, that in his defense Luis claimed he was only practicing Arabic, in the hope of earning his living as a translator, "as others do," and denied knowing that what he was writing came from the Qur'an.[21] García-Arenal and Rodríguez Mediano suggest that the Morisco community in Pastrana, which enjoyed the Duke's protection and

[18] AGS, CdC, Libro 263, fol 23r, 2 Dec 1585; fol 52v, 20 Feb 1589. Another case involving a litigant named Lorenzo de Chaves, *vecino* of Jaén, was presented to the Consejo de Población on 8 Dec 1587 (AGS, CdC, Cédulas Libro 263, fol 46v).

[19] Among other documents, see especially AHN Consejos legajo 53.305. For the latest study on this fascinating episode, see Rafael M. Pérez García and Manuel F. Fernández Chaves, "Los hermanos Berrio: Capital morisco, mediación política y transformaciones comunitarias," *Sharq al-Andalus*, forthcoming.

[20] One of the witnesses they alone present is Gaspar de Córdoba, *escribano*, for whom a pair of books of notary documents survive in the Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Madrid (AHPM), with many interesting documents relating to Lorenzo de Berrio, Antonio Garrido de Villena, don Pedro de Granada Vanegas Pacheco de Mendoza, *veinticuatro de Granada*, and other rich and powerful Granadans at court. AHPM 1011 and 1012, Gaspar de Córdoba.

[21] AHN, Inquisición legajo 1856. In the Archivo de la Universidad de Baeza, I have found Luis Pérez de Berrio's name listed as matriculated in two courses, 1581–82 and 1582–83.

possessed a considerable library of books in Arabic, may have been involved in the Lead Books hoax.[22] It seems likely, given what we know at this point, that Baeza was another nucleus for contact among those participating in this project, and that its proximity to Granada helped those in Pastrana to maintain communication with Moriscos who had managed to avoid deportation. The University of Baeza, founded by Juan de Ávila, a haven for Conversos and *alumbrados*, may have played a role in the professional preparation of the emerging generation of the Morisco elite outside of Granada, while simultaneously contributing to the broad intellectual formation they needed to further their understanding of the larger context for the cultural tradition of Muslim Spain they sought to preserve.[23]

The Molina Abenajara clan offers another example of a family peripheral to this network, but with an important independent network of its own. If the primary geographical foci of the network under discussion here are Granada-Baeza-Toledo-Pastrana, the branches of the Molina family are found in Guadix-Úbeda-Toledo-Segovia. This configuration emerges in the reconstruction of the entire set of references to their documents in the registries of the Consejo de Población. On 20 November 1585, each branch presented its own documents, and an authorization dispatched for the Guadix base of the family shows an astonishing array of friends in high places.[24] Moreover, their Madrid authorization shares only one core witness with this network, none other than Pedro López, *monedero*, but the other four witnesses they present define the nucleus of another group of cases, including four others discussed here: 22 (Aduladín de Mendoza), 29 (Oleilas-Aguilar), 30 (Bernardino Guzmán), 31 (Rodríguez). This smaller network within the periphery appears in the lower-right-hand corner of Table 2. It is also interesting that the Oleilas-Aguilar family, which here appears to belong to the Molina network, has a connection,

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He graduated with the degree of "bachiller de artes y filosofía" in February 1583 (*Libro matrícula*, 1580–1595, without foliation; Libro de Grados, 1580–1598, fols 73r and 74r).

[22] *Un Oriente español*, pp. 281–86.

[23] Here again it is worth noting that the Gómez family, who continue to live in Granada, present the Consejo de Población with cases in which they have been arrested in Baeza and in Jaén and accused of carrying arms despite being Moriscos (3 April 1588. AGS, CdC, Cédula, Libro 263 48v). This implies that they have been traveling along the route covered by the network, entering and leaving the Kingdom of Granada despite not having complied with successive deportation orders, and the specific places where they have made stopovers are, once again, Baeza and Jaén.

[24] AGS, CdC, Cédulas, Libro 10v (20 Nov 1585), and Libro 258, 210v (15 Jun 1588). I have transcribed this authorization in the Appendix.

through Seville, to the Berrios.[25] As more information about these various networks comes to light, we may well find that they are all interconnected and overlap with one another, forming larger and ever more complex constellations of contacts, spheres of influence, genealogical relations, and alliances cemented through marriage bonds.

It would be gratifying to learn more of the activities of the core witnesses in Madrid, and to have a clearer understanding of their identities and connections, independent of their involvement with this Morisco network. Might some be themselves Moriscos who have litigated successfully, and can now help others to gain *cristiano viejo* status? Though some of their names do appear among the 1,500 litigants I have compiled to date, this is hardly conclusive when they are as common as Pedro Hernández, Jerónimo Hernández, or Diego López. Without more information or a second surname, it is simply impossible to establish even a provisional identification in such cases. Two instances, however, appear likely matches, and a third is almost certainly the same individual: Luis Castellanos, Diego de Miranda, and Diego de la Torre. Luis Castellanos is the name of a *vecino de Granada* engaged in obtaining Old Christian status as late as October 1587, when he requested a notarized copy of the executive order granted to his cousin, Isabel Castellanos, whereby her house, confiscated on the grounds that she was a Morisca, was returned to her because she had proven herself entitled to Old Christian status (AGS CdC, Cédulas, Libro 258, fol 165v). He may well be the same Luis Castellanos who begins appearing on the witness lists just over a year later, and his own pending litigation could be the reason for the delay. There is a Diego de Miranda Donaifaz, still living in Granada, arrested in 1582 for violation of the deportation order, but who claims to be a *gací*, descendant of North African converts, not a Granadan Morisco. His transformation into Diego de Miranda, solicitor, is a perhaps bit of a stretch, though not impossible.

[25] In Seville in 1585, Melchor de Berrio testified as a witness for Ambrosio Pablos de Aguilar in his legal claim to Old Christian status (AGS, CdC, legajo 2209). In a study that marks an important inflection in this line of research, Manuel F. Fernández Chaves and Rafael M. García Pérez ("La familia morisca de los Oleylas," forthcoming) have explored the connections between the Berrios and this "false branch" of the Oleilas-Aguilar family, which they painstakingly demonstrate is not really descended from the ancestor who converted before 1492. Here again, we are dealing with a far-flung network of "relatives" and associates, for the Oleilas-Aguilar group argued at least six separate cases before the Consejo de Población, spread out across Granada, Sevilla, Córdoba and Ávila (AGS, CdC, Cédulas, Libro 263, fols. 5v, 8v, 11r, 14r, 32v, 45r).

There is no room for doubt that our witness Diego de la Torre, carpenter, is the litigant given as "el maestro Diego de la Torre, carpintero," who presented an *ejecutoria* declaring him an Old Christian to the Consejo de Población on 7 December 1585.[26] This is the same Diego de la Torre who, in August 1573, had signed a contract for building a sugar mill (*ingenio para moler azúcar*) with his partner and fellow carpenter Bernardino de Guzmán, in the coastal town of Salobreña, for a certain Bernabé de Céspedes.[27] This is especially clear because Diego de la Torre is listed as a witness only twice, and one of those two cases is precisely that of his partner in constructing the sugar mill, Bernardino de Guzmán, *vecino de Toledo*. In addition to proving that at least some of the witnesses given as "*vecinos de Granada estantes en Madrid*" are themselves former litigants who have had to defend their claim to Old Christian status, this also establishes that the carpenters we find in this network are used to working on an industrial scale, in projects intended to turn considerable profit.[28]

Of course, Pedro López is the single most important witness, appearing in almost all the core cases, and providing a crucial link between the core of the network and its periphery, i.e. its relation to other networks with more powerful connections, such as the Berrio and Molina families in Seville and Guadix. Moreover, he is present in the first *recepturía* sent by the Consejo de Población to the *corregidor* of Madrid, and when he stops appearing, the network collapses, or at least ceases functioning in these legal proceedings. His identity as a *monedero*, literally a coiner or minter of coins, working for the Casa de la Moneda in Granada, suggests that he could well be Morisco. *Monederos* enjoyed a number of tax exemptions, but in the mid-sixteenth century the executors of the *farda*, a tax paid only by Moriscos, won a hard-fought legal battle against the *monederos* to force them to pay the *farda*.[29] If Pedro López, *monedero*, is a

[26] AGS, CdC, Cédulas, Libro 263, fol 27r.

[27] Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Granada, G-174, fols 127r–128r. This document has been withdrawn from circulation due to its poor condition. The reference is from Lázaro Gila Medina, *Maestros de carpintería en la Granada Moderna según los escribanos de la ciudad*, Granada, Monumenta Protocollarias, 2008, p. 69.

[28] It further reveals that Bernardino de Guzmán is a also carpenter, almost certainly the same one listed in a document from 1571 in which he is authorized to rent out his orphan nephew's property while this nephew is still a minor. Archivo Histórico de Protocolos de Granada, G-181, fols 102r–103r. Gila Medina, *Maestros de carpintería*, p. 68.

[29] Archivo de la Alhambra, leg 159–40, nums 213 and 214 (August 1559). Jorge de Baeza, listed thirty years later as a witness for the Berrio family in their *recepturía*, was at that time a lawyer assigned to represent the collective interests of the *naturales del Reino de Granada*.

Morisco minter, he could be the same Pedro López who, on the basis of his father's service to the Crown during the War of the Alpujarras, petitioned, with his five brothers, for the right to remain in Granada. This was granted in August 1588, a few months *after* Pedro López began appearing as a witness in the *recepturías* of other Moriscos as a *vecino de Granada, estante en Madrid*.[30] It is not yet possible to determine, unfortunately, whether this is the same person.

Conclusions: A Hypothetical Model and Some Larger Implications

At this point, I am willing to venture a speculative hypothesis about the nature and purpose of this network that seems to explain most of the characteristics that have come out in the course of my analysis. This appears to be a network of Morisco merchants, trading primarily silk, though other products as well, including, though not necessarily limited to, sugar, wool, and woolen cloths (*paños*). They are organized along a trade route connecting the Kingdom of Granada to Pastrana and both of these to Jaén, La Mancha, Toledo, and a number of other peripheral areas. It seems likely that they have joined forces to help one another attain Old Christian status, mainly for the freedom of movement this entails, though surely for the enhanced social standing it brings as well. Because they need this freedom of movement for their commercial activities, it makes sense for them to make an initial capital investment in the necessary legal procedures. The most efficient approach is to establish a group of agents in Madrid, including some prominent Moriscos who have already completed the process, such as Luis de Castellanos, Diego de Miranda, and Pedro López. These agents ensure efficient processing of the litigation, procure the necessary witnesses and bring them to Madrid, obtain the authorizations, perform the interrogations, and present the new testimonials (*probanzas*). Because they are processing groups of about five cases at a time, it is more efficient to bring the witnesses to Madrid than to travel back and forth to Granada. The "operation" of putting in the necessary paperwork to obtain Old Christian status for the members of this commercial network took just over three years. Once it was complete, the network, far from disbanding, could enter into full swing. But at that point it would have shifted from the legal sphere to its real *raison d'être*, mercantile activity.

[30] AGS, CdC, Cédulas, Libro 258, folio 222.

Prima facie, there is no reason to doubt that some of these cases could be legitimate examples of the defense of their rights by descendants of *cristianos viejos de moros*, mixed marriages, Mudejars from Castile, or North African *gacís*. But it can hardly be denied that this network would be capable of generating legally-binding affidavits based on fraudulent testimony, in sufficient quantity to guarantee success. The pattern observed above of a stable professional core of agents of the network contrasted with rotating groups of witnesses who can only be shown to have spent a short time in Madrid (for seventeen of them, as little as one day) seems to point in the direction of witnesses for hire, brought to Madrid by the network to be interrogated and sent back home once their testimony had been given. That does not in itself prove that their testimony is false, but perhaps we can begin to see at a certain point that their authenticity is simply no longer the central issue.

It took a little over three years for the core network to push twenty *recepturías* through the approval process, in keeping with the Spanish proverb *las cosas de palacio van despacio* (royal affairs take time). Though apparently modest in scale, the group was, nonetheless, big in ambition. A company of a few dozen Morisco merchants could amass considerable wealth if they were able to freely exploit their connections with the silk industry in Pastrana, wool production in La Mancha, weavers of woolen cloth in Baeza and, especially, the Kingdom of Granada, with its remaining silk spinners and weavers, and its rich stock of silkworm mulberry trees (why else would remote Huécija be included?), and perhaps even its sugar mills. Moreover, this may not be simply one Morisco network among others. It could, in fact, constitute a large piece of a missing set of links tying many networks of the Granada Moriscos in exile, networks that turned out to be strong enough to resist not only the expulsions of 1570 and 1584, but even the "final" expulsion of 1610, as scholars such as García-Arenal, Soria Mesa, and Bernabé Pons are increasingly demonstrating.

This new Morisco historiography promises to eventually dislodge persistent distortions in our understanding of the minority. For too long the most active, forward-looking members of the Granadan Morisco community after the Conquest have been dismissively labeled "collaborationist" and accused, anachronistically, of "betraying their people." The astonishing neglect among scholars studying Moriscos of nearly one thousand cases of those claiming Old Christian status has been conditioned as well, I would argue, by unquestioned assumptions concerning the ubiquity of fraud among these litigants. Insofar as Moriscos used false genealogies to achieve their goal, their manipulation of the institutions governing

status and privilege does not mark them as significantly different from other social groups, including Conversos, the *nouveau riche*, even the "real" nobility itself. It does not show them to be more dishonest than other groups, but it does demonstrate a more sophisticated understanding of the legal system than historians have usually granted the Moriscos.[31] Together these two prejudicial views have prevented us from recognizing the true significance of this litigation, since those whose cases are authentic have been branded traitors, while those with fraudulent claims have simply been assimilated to an unconsciously Orientalist vision of the Moriscos as inveterate liars, as the dominant culture has represented them for centuries. The network uncovered here should contribute significantly to dispelling both of these prejudicial views. Far from representing a privileged few powerful families who turned their backs on the rest of the Moriscos, this coordinated group of one hundred or so adult males (including both core and periphery) form part of a Morisco leadership bent on improving the socioeconomic condition of a broad, growing middle class of Granadans integrating into Castilian society, though without, it would seem, abandoning their ties to Hispano-Muslim tradition. The individuals and families discussed in these pages were not devoid of political and economic resources, nor can they be simply dismissed as "collaborationists" who had abandoned the Morisco "cause."

In presenting this network, I have chosen to foreground in some detail how its basic silhouette can be drawn from the documents of the Consejo de Población, and I have done so for two distinct reasons, one practical, the other theoretical. Methodologically, I wanted to highlight the extraordinary richness of this documentation, from which it should be possible to eventually trace the connections among virtually all the members of a sizeable Granadan middle class in exile emerging between 1570 and 1610, and it may even be that we can discover in this way what happened to these litigants and their descendants after the expulsion, at least for those who remained in Spain, probably a considerable proportion. In theoretical terms, it is important to grasp that this documentation has that potential because these records were kept by the institutions controlling access

[31] Enrique Soria Mesa, *La nobleza en la España moderna. Cambio y continuidad* Madrid, 2007, offers a lucid account of the integral role of false genealogies in the representation and negotiation of status in Early Modern Spain. The stigmatizing of Morisco fraud in this arena is similar to the misleading separation of Morisco religious hypocrisy, no different in kind from that of Jewish converts, Protestants, or all those who had to dissemble their real beliefs in the "tiempos recios" (in Santa Teresa's phrase) of Counter-Reformation Castile.

to power, and the litigants were seeking such access. The abundance of information about them in these registries is less a consequence of the Crown's effort to control them, than of the Moriscos' own struggle to bend the central power to their purposes. The dynamic between the Monarchy and the minority is not exhausted by control and resistance, nor is clandestine adherence to Islam the only form of resistance that should interest us. These documents record Morisco strategies for infiltrating and co-opting the very structures of power that served to marginalize them. Politically, economically, and culturally, at least a certain class segment among the Granadan Moriscos were better organized and better prepared to further their individual and collective interests than we have heretofore acknowledged.

Appendix. Additional Witnesses for Network Cases, Residents of Madrid and Elsewhere

A. *Residents of Madrid appearing in only one* recepturía

Despite the high level of overlap among network lists, most cases include from one to three witnesses who, although residents of Madrid, are not shared with any others. This is a relatively low proportion, which holds even for the peripheral cases, with one outstanding exception, case 14, the Berrios, whose witnesses are almost all exclusively their own. (On the other hand, several of the other peripheral cases present witnesses residing in other places, listed below.) Here are the residents of Madrid appearing in only one network *recepturía*, listed by case.

Case	Litigant(s)	Witness(es) appearing only in this recepturía
1	Mendoza	Pedro Ramírez
2	Vázquez Güízar	Pedro Varón
4	Soto el Tunecí	Juan de Vera, hilador de seda; Baltasar Monte, veinticuatro de Granada y procurador de cortes
6	Luján	Ambrosio de Segura
7	López	Alonso Rodríguez; Juan del Álamo, espetero
10	López de Nápoles	Aparicio Hurtado
11	Hernández el Bixay	Francisco del Valle; Cristóbal Ruiz

Table (*cont.*)

Case	Litigant(s)	Witness(es) appearing only in this recepturía
14	Pérez de Berrio	Gaspar de Córdoba, escribano; Doña María Cajal de Sotomayor; Don Jorge de Baeza; Alonso de Alcaraz; Antonio Garrido de Villena; Lope de Soria; Guillermo Perma
16	Ribera	Alonso Martínez; Juan de Alcaraz, sastre
17	Sánchez	Alonso Jiménez
19	Chapiz and Chaves	Alonso González, sastre
20	Escobedo	Diego de Saavedra; Miguel González; Cristóbal de Castro
21	Gómez	Gabriel de Arraez: Francisco de Salazar; Bartolomé de Quesada; Francisco de Benavides
27	Pérez el Jayar	Juan de Ontiveros
28	Cazorla	Jerónimo Hernández; Miguel Sánchez
29	Oleilas and Aguilar	Gaspar Fernández, escribano; Bernardino de Guevara

B. *Additional witnesses, not residing in Madrid, presented in some cases of the network, listed by case* (note the recurrence of "Soria, sacristan de San Miguel" in three of these lists)

1. Mendoza: Vecinos de Almagro: Pedro Díaz de Belmonte, Baltasar de Flores, Bernardo Hernández, Hernán García Serrano, Pedro Ramírez.

5. Jaení: Vecinos de Granada and Alhendín: Luis de Cueva, Juan de Salazar, clérigo, Diego Ruiz, pintor, Diego Ruiz Samaniego, Juan de León, escribano, Rodrigo de Valcacer, doña Ana Bazán, Juan Ruiz Chiquito, la viuda de Francisco Rentero, Juan de Porras, la viuda de Contreras, Juan de Soria, la viuda de Salido.

13. Juárez el Hipe and Alonso Díaz: Vecinos de Toledo: Alonso de Ávila, Crespín de Orense [familiar del Santo Oficio de Toledo], Francisco Hernández.

15. Rueda: Vecinos de Granada: Cristóbal de Sayavedra, prior, **Soria**, **sacristán de San Miguel**, Francisco Sánchez Laínez.

28. Cazorla: Vecinos de Trujillo: don Juan de Herrera, regidor, Francisco Ramos Cervantes, Gonzalo de Burgos, clérigo, Andrés Barado, Pedro de León, Francisco de Arévalo, Juan Alonso de Gironda, Jerónimo Cerbera, Martín de Soto, Hernando Mateo, Alonso Martín el viejo.

30. Guzmán: Vecinos de Granada: **Soria Sacristán de San Miguel**, Frias, [Diego de la Torre, carpintero, here listed as residing in Granada], Trujillo, albañil; vecinos de Almuñécar: Diego Pérez, Cristóbal Mediano Jurado, Salcedo, hortelano.

31. Rodríguez-Mendoza-Priego: Vecinos de Ocaña: Diego Moreno, Bartolomé de Vargas, Juan Martínez, Juan García de Madrid, Diego de Losa, Juan Díaz; vecino de Baeza: Juan de Salamanca; vecino de Jaén: Pedro Marín; vecino de Granada: **Soria**, **sacristán de San Miguel**, vecino de Alfacar de la Vega: Montesinos.

C. Recepturía *for the branch of the Molina family that remained in Guadix*. AGS, CdC, Cédulas Libro 258 fols 210v–211r

El dicho día [15 June 1588] se despachó otra dirigida a los corregidores de las ciudades de Toledo, Úbeda y Guadix a pedimento de Hernando de Molina Abenajara, vecino de la ciudad de Guadix, sobre que pretende ser cristiano viejo y presenta por testigos para su probanza a Perafán de Ribera, corregidor de la ciudad Toledo, el licenciado Bravo, alcalde mayor della, el doctor de la Rivera, alcalde mayor de la de Úbeda, don Juan de Ávila Arce, corregidor de la ciudad de Guadix, el licienciado Piñeda, alcalde mayor della, Juan de Biedma, regidor perpetuo de Hervás, Juan de Mesa, clérigo, Pedro de Quesada, escribano, Pedro de el Pozo, el licenciado Luis de Caravajal, Josep de Santa Cruz, escribano del cabildo, Juan de Córdoba, Francisco de Cozar, Juan Luis de Baeza, capellán, Alonso Ortiz, clérigo, don Hernando de Barradas, regidor, el capitán Payo de Ribera, Luis de Barrea, el capitán Bartolomé Serrano, Baltasar de Molina, Teresa Ruiz, Juan de Rueda, Diego Polido, Diego Lorenzo, Gil de Olise, Hernando de Villena, regidor, Catalina Ganancha, Diego de Peralta, clérigo, Damiana Martínez, Alonso Ruiz, espadero, Pedro de Figueroa, alcalde, Pedro de Urrutia, vecinos de la ciudad de Guadix con término de cincuenta días.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MORISCO STORIES AND THE COMPLEXITIES OF RESISTANCE AND ASSIMILATION

Mary Elizabeth Perry*

As workers pulled down ancient, crumbling buildings in eighteenth-century Spain, they uncovered hundreds of Arabic writings that had been concealed in false floors and ceilings, hollow pillars and walls. Although most of the workers had no idea that they had unearthed a treasure, someone recognized that these decaying papers might have historical value. Fortunately, many of the writings survived to be studied and catalogued, published and analyzed by countless scholars. Undoubtedly hidden in the sixteenth century, when Christian authorities called in all writings in Arabic to be burned, they provide a unique window into the lives and experiences of Moriscos who had lived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[1]

To me, these writings humanize Moriscos and reveal much more about their thoughts, beliefs, and experiences than any documents and "official" writings of this period. It is through their stories, in particular, that Moriscos continue to raise questions that I cannot ignore. How, for example, could these people preserve any remnants of their connections with Islam after royal decrees prohibited their faith and culture, and unleashed an Inquisition determined to uncover false converts and Muslim practices? How did stories help Moriscos survive oppression as they sought to preserve

* For help in critiquing earlier versions of this essay, I am grateful to members of the Occidental Writing Network, to participants in the "IV Congreso Internacional sobre los conversos y los moriscos," June 2008, and to Kevin Ingram, editor of this volume.

[1] For more on these concealed writings and their discovery, see A.R. Nykel, *A Compendium of Aljamiado Literature*, New York and Paris, 1929, pp. 29–30; Luce López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature. From the Middle Ages to the Present*, transl. Andrew Hurley, Leiden, 1992, pp. 171–174; Julián Ribera and Miguel Asín, *Manuscritos árabes y aljamiados de la biblioteca de la junta*, Madrid, 1912, pp. v–xviii, 138, and 156–157; Gerard Wiegers, *Islamic Literature in Spanish and Aljamiado*, Leiden and New York, 1994. Note that López Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literature*, p. 172, describes an earlier discovery of hidden *aljamiado* and Arabic writings in 1728 in Ricla. Bonfires destroying Arabic writings are described in José Capdevila Orozco, *Errantes y expulsados. Normativas jurídicas contra gitanos, judíos, y moriscos*. Cordova, 1991, pp. 19–21 and 111–112; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, 1978, pp. 19–21; and in Nykel, *A Compendium*, pp. 27–28.

their own identity and faith? What is the relationship of these stories to the institutionalized religions of their time, and how do they challenge the usual bipolar view of Moriscos as either Muslims or Christians? And—perhaps most puzzling of all—why did they risk their lives to save stories of non-Muslim origins, such as those about Job, Jesus, and a handless maiden named Carcayona?

In my most recent book I suggested that the Morisco story of Carcayona can be seen as a metaphor of Morisco experiences during the sixteenth century when Christian oppression cut them off from them their faith, culture, and identities.[2] This version of the story of an archetypal handless maiden probably originated in Asia long before Muslims adapted it as a didactic tool for instruction in Islam.[3] In contrast, Job of the Morisco "Estoria y Recontamiento de Ayub" appeared in Hebrew Scriptures many centuries before Muhammad heard the words that would include Job in two suras as they were written in the Qur'an.[4] Clearly recognizing the close connection of Allah with his people, the Morisco story presents Job and his wife Rahma as exemplars of suffering, compassion, faith and love—inspirations, in my judgment, for Moriscos who suffered much loss in early modern Spain. Yet neither story taught listeners that they must accept an official religion, whether Islam, Christianity or Judaism.

More recently, I have studied "El relato del naçimiento de Jesús," a Morisco story that resembles a portion of Sura XIX of the *Qur'an*, entitled "Mary."[5] Because it appears to be based on the stories of the Christian

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[2] Mary Elizabeth Perry, *The Handless Maiden: Moriscos and the Politics of Religion in Early Modern Spain*, Princeton, 2005.

[3] F. Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas. Sacadas de varios manuscritos existents en las bibliotecas Nacional, Real y de P. de Gayangos*, Estudio preliminario por Maria Paz Torres, Granada, 1994, 3 vols., includes the story of Carcayona at I:181–221. Although the preliminary discussion states that the *aljamiado* version was a Muslim adaptation of an earlier Christian tale of piety, on p. 42, the story presented describes Carcayona's father as "king of the Romanos who lived in India" ("rrey de los rromanos, que vivía en el Hind—en la India"), p. 182.

[4] The Morisco version of the story of Job is in Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas.* I:225–263; and also in Antonio Vespertino Rodríguez, ed., *Leyendas aljamiadas y moriscas sobre personajes bíblicos*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 272–299. Job is in the Qur'an, at suras XXI:83–84 and XXXVIII:40–44. I discuss the story in *The Handless Maiden*, pp. 123–125, esp. For more on the significance of the Morisco version of the story of Job, see Mary Elizabeth Perry, "Patience and Pluck: Job's Wife, Conflict and Resistance in Morisco Manuscripts Hidden in the Sixteenth Century," in Marta Vicente and Luis R. Corteguera eds., *Women, Texts and Authority in the Early Modern Spanish World*, New York and London, 2003, pp. 91–106.

[5] This story is in Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, I:117–58. All subsequent quotations are from this version of the story. For a Sufi account of Mary and Jesus, see Shaykh Muhammad al-Jamal ar Rifa'I as Shadhuli, *The Stories of the Prophet*, New York, 1996, pp. 291–322. I am grateful to my colleague, Cheri Langdell, who told me about this collection of Sufi stories.

gospels, we might wonder why Moriscos hid this story from Christian authorities. Note, however, that because it seems to follow a chapter from the *Qur'an* and was written in *aljamía* (a Spanish dialect written in Arabic script), it would have been burned in sixteenth-century Spain.[6] Moreover, it presents a story of Jesus and of his mother, Mary, that differed significantly from the dogma and teachings of the Spanish Church in the early modern period.

Although the hiding of the three stories can be interpreted as evidence of Morisco resistance to Christian oppression, a careful reading of them indicates that each could have appealed to Moriscos who varied considerably in how devoted they were to Islam, in which aspects of Christianity they found especially appealing or revolting, and in how they sought to comfort themselves in their very difficult living conditions in early modern Spain. Moreover, all three of the stories reveal more about people seeking their own personal relationships with a divine power than they can show about their conformity to the traditional polarized analysis of Moriscos as either Muslim or Christian. To explore how these three Morisco stories reveal the complexities of Morisco resistance and assimilation, it is important to consider first the historical context of Moriscos and recognize the problems of available evidence. Next I will discuss each of the stories individually, and I will conclude with an analysis of what they reveal about Morisco spirituality.

Context and Concerns about Evidence

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella decreed that Muslims remaining in the lands of Castile must convert to Christianity or leave the Hispanic homes where many had lived for generations.[7] Thousands chose to leave Spain, but many others stayed and converted to Christianity, whether voluntarily or by force. Known as Moriscos, or "Moor-like," these baptized Muslims became viewed as "false Christians" who followed the longtime Muslim tradition of *taqiyya*, which

[6] Capdevila Orozco, *Errantes y expulsados*, pp. 111–112; 19–21; Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 19–21; and Nykel, *A Compendium*, pp. 27–28.

[7] For the rebellion and terms of capitulation, see Luis del Marmol Carvajal, *Historia de la rebelión y castigo de los moriscos del reino de Granada* (orig. 1600), in *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, Madrid, 1946, XXI:146–150. An excellent chronology of the increasing oppression of Moriscos is in Mercedes García-Arenal, *Los moriscos*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 15–17. The 1502 decree of conversion or exile is discussed in Domínguez Ortiz, and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 17–21.

counseled the faithful to conform externally to the religion of an oppressive regime while internally remaining faithful to Islam.[8]

Although some Moriscos became "good Christians," and even entered religious orders or intermarried with Old Christians (those Spaniards without Jewish or Muslim ancestors), many other Moriscos resisted assimilation; some even resorted to armed violence and sought military assistance from Ottoman Turks or other nearby Muslims.[9] Moriscos resisting assimilation could preserve few sacred objects of their faith, however, as Christian authorities prohibited them and exiled or killed their Muslim leaders, closed or shattered their mosques. Bonfires had already destroyed countless copies of the Qur'an and most of their religious writings in Arabic, the language they revered as that in which the word of Allah was written.[10] In all probability, the prohibition of their writings in Arabic script increased their sacred nature, for Moriscos could read or possess them only as a shared secret.

Yet the inquisitors were not able to find all the hidden writings. As we know, workmen later discovered some of them as they pulled down ancient buildings in which Moriscos had once lived. The writings that spilled out included those in both Arabic and *aljamía*. Although some of the concealed papers preserved secular accounts such as bookkeeping records and marriage contracts, many of them were religious writings,

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[8] Most scholars believe that *taqiyya* originated with Muslim Shi'as living under Sunni domination, particularly those dissenters who joined the secret societies of Isma'ilis, Nusayris, and Druses. See, for example, H. Lammens, *Islam. Beliefs and Institutions*, trans. Sir E. Denison Ross, London, 1968, p. 168; H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers eds., *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Ithaca, 1961, pp. 561–562; Alvaro Galmés de Fuentes, *Los moriscos* (*desde su misma orilla*), Madrid, 1993, pp. 108–113; Louis Cardaillac, "Un aspecto de las relaciones entre moriscos y cristianos: polémica y taqiyya," in *Actas del coloquio internacional sobre literatura aljamiada y morisca*, Madrid, 1978, III:107–122; and sura 16:106 of *The Holy Qur'an: Text, Translation and Commentary*, trans. and comm. Abdullah Yusuf Ali, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA, 1946, 1:685. Note that not all Muslims accepted taqiyya, and some leaders believed that living under the rule of non-Muslims would dilute their faith because they could not express their faith outwardly; see Domínguez Ortiz, and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 134–135.

[9] Whether they resisted or assimilated, many Moriscos continued to live in Spain.

For an important recent article describing genetic evidence that many present-day Spaniards are descendants of Conversos or Moriscos, see Susan M. Adams, et al. "The Genetic Legacy of Religious Diversity and Intolerance: Paternal Lineages of Christians, Jews, and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula," *The American Journal of Human Genetics* 83 (Dec. 12, 2008) pp. 725–736. I am deeply grateful to my colleague Gonzalo Carrasco, who brought this recent article to my attention.

[10] Bonfires destroying Arabic writings are described in Capdevila Orozco, *Errantes y expulsados*, pp. 19–21 and 111–112; Domínguez Ortiz and Vincent, *Historia de los moriscos*, pp. 19–21; and in Nykel, *A Compendium*, pp. 27–28.

including copies of the Qur'an, sayings of Muhammad, and legal interpretations of the *shar'ia.* Certainly objects of veneration for those Moriscos who were able to read and hear them in early modern Spain, they may have been an important source of inspiration when they could be taken out of their hiding places without fear of discovery.

In addition to the traditional sacred writings of Islam, however, the concealed writings included stories that had been passed on orally by storytellers. At the end of the fifteenth or in the early sixteenth century, they had been written down in *aljamia.* By this time many Hispanic Muslims and Moriscos wanted to preserve the sacred Arabic script that had been used to record the Qur'an, especially as they lost their facility in spoken Arabic.[11] Perhaps this loss of spoken Arabic became for many Moriscos a "felt absence" of an important symbol of their identity and culture.[12] As the number of Moriscos who could recite the Qur'an dwindled, the script of this holy book could have taken on greater religious significance, and scholars have found that Moriscos showed reverence even for the holes in the ground where Christian authorities had burned their *aljamiado* and Arabic writings.[13] Yet *aljamia* represents a hybridization of early Castilian dialect and Arabic script, rather than a pure language of orthodoxy. Moreover, we know that cultural mixing had taken place for centuries, during which Christian, Jewish and Muslim peoples had lived together on the Iberian Peninsula.

Several of the stories hidden by Moriscos became inspirational for those who were attempting to preserve their own faith and culture in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In addition, they became sacred not only for those resisting Christian conversion, but also for two other groups of Moriscos: those who wanted to explore the possible syncretization of Islam with aspects of Judeo-Christian traditions, and those who simply intended to assimilate as Christians. For each of these groups, Morisco stories became even more sacred as Christian authorities prohibited them, so that Moriscos had to preserve them in secrecy. Their

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[11] Important insights about *aljamia* are discussed in López-Baralt, *Islam in Spanish Literaure*, pp. 171–174, esp.; Diane E. Sieber, *Historiography and Marginal Identity in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Nottingham: *University of Nottingham Monographs on the Humanities*, vol. XII, 2002; and Wiegers, *Islamic Literature, passim.*

[12] See Richard McCoy, "The Tragedy of the Handkerchief," in Elizabeth Robertson and Jennifer Jahner eds., *Medieval and Devotional Objects in Global Perspective*, New York, 2010, p. 156 esp.

[13] Diane Sieber, "Aljamiado and Golden Age Spanish Literature," unpublished paper presented at the University of Colorado, Feb. 2008.

stories of Job, Jesus, and a handless maiden named Carcayona have particular significance in demonstrating how Moriscos used stories to preserve or hybridize sacred beliefs, even though they did not originate as tales to preserve their faith in Islam, nor to instruct Muslims to resist religious oppression, nor to make other faiths more acceptable to Muslims. The telling and recording of these Morisco tales undoubtedly modified the original stories.

In proposing the special significance of the hidden Morisco writings, I want to acknowledge both the particularities of their historical context as well as the limitations of available evidence. Moriscos continued to live in the Spanish kingdoms during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in an environment of growing mistrust and increasing oppression that undercut their efforts at assimilation. They lost their Muslim names when Christian clerics imposed new Christian names in baptism. A royal decree of 1508 banned their Arabic writings, and a series of royal mandates in the 1510s and 1520s prohibited much of their traditional clothing, food, festive dances and other elements of their culture that religious officials considered evidence of continuing allegiance to Islam.[14] From the 1530s, the Inquisition imprisoned thousands of suspected Muslim apostates, subjecting them to seizure of family property, humiliating public penitence, lashings, penitential service and—when the accused did not request reconciliation with the Church—execution.[15]

After years of increasing oppression, the Moriscos in Granada declared an armed rebellion in 1568. For two years they held off the armies of Philip II and his loyal nobles, but they had to accept defeat in 1570. The crown ordered the forced relocation of all Moriscos of Granada and their dispersal to distant parts of Castile. Some 50,000 Moriscos suffered very difficult journeys into this internal exile, more than one-quarter of them dying along the way from exposure, disease, and hardship. Those who survived

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[14] For more on assimilation of Moriscos, see David Coleman, *Creating Christian Granada: Society and Religious Culture in an Old-World Frontier City, 1492–1600*, Ithaca, 2003; and James Tueller, *Good and Faithful Christians: Moriscos and Catholicism in Early Modern Spain*, New Orleans, 2002. Increasing oppression of Moriscos is detailed in L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500–1614*, Chicago, 2005; and Perry, *The Handless Maiden* pp. 135–142, esp.

[15] Two excellent sources for the Spanish Inquisition are Henry Kamen, *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, Bloomington, 1985; and Edward Peters, *Inquisition*, New York, 1988.

faced suspicious new neighbors and stringent restrictions carried out by local ecclesiastical and lay authorities.[16]

Finally, in 1609, convinced that Moriscos would never assimilate into Spanish Christian society, Philip III ordered that they be expelled from his kingdoms.[17] With the exception of only the small percentage of Moriscos who had managed to integrate themselves into the power structures of the dominant society, the overwhelming majority of Spain's Moriscos were forced into exile between 1609 and 1614. Christian authorities decreed that Moriscos could not take with them precious metals or jewels or, in many cases, their children younger than seven years who had been baptized. When expelled Moriscos left the port of Seville in 1610, officials placed in warehouses some 300 Morisco children under the age of seven that they had taken from their parents. Here the children waited for Old Christian parents who would agree to raise them as "good Christians."[18]

In this tragic context, we find no evidence for how many Moriscos had access to their own stories or history. Inquisition cases against Moriscos accused of attempting to hide Arabic or *aljamiado* writings provide some specific examples, but they tell us nothing of those Moriscos who escaped prosecution by the Holy Office. In some cases, the reports do not even show that the prosecuted Moriscos had read the writings or that they knew what the writings contained. It is likely that the majority of Morisco women, in particular, could not read.[19]

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[16] Mármol Carvajal, *Historia de la rebelión*, published much important information about this rebellion some 30 years after its defeat; for more firsthand information about the relocation of the Moriscos of Granada, see the letter of Nov. 3, 1570, from Cristóbal del Aguila to Philip II, in Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Cámara de Castilla, legajo 2157.

[17] *Declaración del Bando que se publicado de la expulsion de los Moriscos*, Seville, 1610, n.p.

[18] For the children left in warehouses in Seville, see AGS, Contaduría Mayor de Cuentas, legajo 415, no. 60, part 2. A longer discussion of the decision to leave these children is in Perry, *Handless Maiden*, pp. 147–158 and 172–174. Very important work on this topic is presented by François Martínez, "Les enfants morisques de l'expulsion (1610–1621)," in Abdeljelil Temimi ed., *Mélanges Louis Cardaillac.*, Zaghouan, 1995, pp. 499–539.

[19] Illiteracy of Moriscas is discussed in Bernard Vincent, "Las mujeres moriscas"; but note that some Moriscas may not have "understood" or signed their names to Inquisition statements out of resistance rather than illiteracy. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven and London, 1990, suggests that subordinated people can pretend not to understand nor to read as a form of resistance; see pp. xxi–xxvi, 29, and 37, esp. It is misleading to conclude that none of the Moriscas were educated; see, for example, Bernard Vincent, "50,000 moriscos almerienses," in *Almería entre culturas siglos XIII al XVI*, Almería, 1990, p. 504; L.P. Harvey, "El Mancebo de Arévalo y la literatura aljamiada," in *Actas del Coloquia Internacional Sobre Literatura Aljamiada y Morisca*,

Inquisition records in themselves are problematic as evidence. They have the limitation of reflecting better what inquisitors wanted to hear than what Moriscos might have believed was true. Moriscos subjected to questioning by inquisitors knew that these men had the power of life and death over them and their families. Inquisitors not only phrased the questions to elicit particular responses; they also recorded the Moriscos' answers. The testimonies in these cases read more as a form of ventriloquism carried out by inquisitors than an honest statement by witnesses free to speak openly in the search for truth.[20] Presenting much more clearly what those in power sought to establish than the direct voices of Moriscos, these records could easily be dismissed as evidence of an "imperialist gaze" by a powerful elite that looked down upon a despised "Other."[21]

It is likely that many Moriscos passed on their stories orally, especially after inquisitors succeeded in finding the written versions that Moriscos had attempted to hide. As many other religions, Islam has a long tradition of the value of the recited word, beginning with the belief that Allah first spoke the words of the Qur'an to the angel Gabriel, who recited them to Muhammad.[22] In the time of the Moriscos, when they were forbidden to own written versions of their holy book, those people who had memorized sections of the Qur'an became very important religious resources. Unfortunately, we have little information about those who recited the Qur'an or simply told stories. Storytellers could tell many different versions of the same tale, but it is difficult to learn about them. We do not know which tales the storytellers used to simply entertain and which had a more didactic purpose to instruct and preserve Islam. Four or five centuries later, we cannot hear Morisco stories as they told them in their own places and times. We in the present time cannot note their inflections and

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Oviedo, 1972, pp. 21–41; and Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles. Bibliófilos y bibliotecas en la España musulmana*, Cordova, 1925.

[20] For more on ventriloquism and confession, see Mike Hepworth and Bryan S. Turner, *Confession: Studies in Deviance and Religion*, London, 1982.

[21] Lee Edelman, *Homographesis: Essays in Gay Literary and Cultural Theory*, New York and London, 1994, p. 47; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *In Other Worlds*, London and New York, 1987, esp. pp. 197–211; and Paul Julian Smith, *Representing the Other: 'Race,' Text, and Gender in Spanish and Spanish American Narrative*, Oxford, 1992, p. 18. Note, however, that many historians have used critical reading in order to find meaningful evidence in Inquisition records. I describe my own methodology for using a single Inquisition document to uncover the story of a Muslim slave woman in "Finding Fatima, a Slave Woman of Early Modern Spain," in Nupur Chaudhuri and Sherry J. Katz, and Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources*, Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield, 2010, pp. 3–19.

[22] Malise Ruthven, *Islam: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford, 2000, pp. 21–24.

the responses of their listeners, their quiet decisions to disguise words that might too easily betray them to suspicious eavesdroppers, their admonitions to keep the stories from children who might inadvertently repeat fragments that would incriminate the adults.

However, we do have some scholarly help in analyzing the little historical evidence that we have. For example, post-colonial scholars can help us understand the "imperialist gaze" of Inquisition records; and insights of historians and other literary scholars can show us how to deliberately read historical records "against the grain" as "discourse" that involves power relations.[23] Sociologists and anthropologists can provide us with tools for examining people who attempt to survive in very difficult situations. Hank Johnston, for example, has studied the people of Catalonia under the Franco regime and learned how they preserved their Catalan language and culture through oral stories, jokes, and traditional songs that they had to keep secret.[24] In Malaysia James C. Scott lived among peasants and the very poor and found that these people use "hidden transcripts" and "weapons of the weak" in order to resist domination.[25]

Philosophers, psychologists, and thinkers such as William James, Emile Durkheim, and Joseph Campbell can help to clarify how Moriscos could sacralize a story. For each of these thinkers, human beings—no matter when or where they live—yearn to know more of a powerful transcendent being, to experience an encounter with this being, and to empower themselves through connecting with it.[26] As we consider the three Morisco stories, we will look especially at how each describes a transcendent being, its interactions with human beings, and the possible empowerment of these people.

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[23] For example, see Annette Kuhn, "Passionate Detachment," in *Women's Pictures: Feminism and Cinema*, Boston, 1982, p. 15; and the anthology edited by Elaine Showalter, *The New Feminist Criticism: Women, Literature and Theory*, New York, 1985.

[24] Hank Johnston, *Tales of Nationalism, Catalonia, 1939–1979*, New Brunswick, NJ, 1991.

[25] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant* Resistance, New Haven and London, 1985; and his *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, New Haven and London, 1990.

[26] Although we could cite many of the writings of these scholars, I have relied most on Joseph Campbell, *The Flight of the Wild Gander: Explorations in the Mythological Dimensions of Fairy Tales, Legends, and Symbols*, New York, 1990, pp. 16–33, esp.; Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Cosman, Oxford, 2001, orig. 1912, pp. 160, 170–171, and 241, esp.; and William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, New York, 1999, pp. 265–267, and 381, esp.

The Story of Carcayona

"The Story of the Maiden Carcayona, Daughter of King Nachrab, with the Dove" begins with a list of notable early Muslims who recounted the story when asked to tell "some marvelous thing."[27] They told of King Nachrab, "king of the Romanos," who lived in India and worshipped idols.[28] He rejoiced when his wife gave birth to a baby girl, "the most beautiful of women," but his wife died in childbirth.[29] He named his motherless child "Carcayona." As she grew up, "he looked at her beauty and fell in love with her and ate and drank with her."[30] He gave her a golden bejeweled idol and taught her to worship it. One day when he had come to eat with her, he "kissed her and demanded her body."[31] She rebuked him, however, and he left, ashamed.

Carcayona devoted herself to worshipping the idol that her father had given her, but one afternoon when she was praying to the idol, a bejeweled golden dove flew into her open window to tell her of Allah, "the lord of all the world."[32] She begged to hear more, and the dove proceeded to explain to her all the basic beliefs of Islam. Delighted with what she had heard, Carcayona told her father, but he forbade her to speak of this and ordered her to worship only his idol. However, the princess continued to pray as the dove had instructed her, and she even melted down the idol her father had given her so she could give the gold and precious stones to the poor, as "service for Allah."[33] King Nachrab argued and threatened; he pleaded with her to return to his idol so she would not cause him to lose his kingdom. Adamantly, Carcayona told him that even his threats could not make her leave her service of Allah.

Finally, the king ordered that her hands be cut off and that she be abandoned in a wilderness. Allah heard her weeping, however, and guided her to a cave inhabited by many fierce beasts. Clearly frightened, Carcayona nevertheless blessed them; and they brought her food and "played with her as a dog with its master."[34] An unusual doe that was colored white

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[27] Guillén Robles, *Leyendas*, I:181: "alguna cosa maravillosa," All subsequent quotations of this story are from this version I:181–221.

[28] Guillén Robles I:182: "había un rrey de los rromanos, que vivía en el Hind—en la India—que adoraba á las ídolas".

[29] Guillén Robles I:183: "la más Hermosa de las muyeres".

[30] Guillén Robles I:183. "miró á su hermosura, y enamoróse della, y comió con ella".

[31] Guillén Robles I:186: "besóla, y demandóle su cuerpo."

[32] Guillén Robles I:189: "Allah, señor de todo el mundo".

[33] Guillén Robles I:208: "por servicio de Allah".

[34] Guillén Robles I:214: "y jugaban con ella, como el perro con su amo".

came to Carcayona to bring her food and suckle her. One day the white doe brought to her cave the handsome King of Antioch, who had been hunting nearby. He fell in love with the beautiful handless maiden and asked her to marry him. Soon he took her and the white doe back to his palace to live with him and his mother. All was well and Carcayona gave birth to a baby boy, but the King of Antioch had to leave for military service in a distant land. While he was gone, some envious women forged a letter from him and sent it to his mother, telling her that she must banish Carcayona and the baby because Carcayona was a witch and her baby was not the king's son. If she did not do this, the letter warned, she would never see her son again.[35]

Once more Carcayona was abandoned, and this time with a baby to protect. In tears, she turned to Allah. The golden dove flew in and urged her to pray to Allah to restore her hands. She demurred, but the dove told her she "must ask this of Allah so she would not deny Him the goodness that he can do."[36] After praying for the restoration of her hands, Carcayona fell asleep; and when she awakened, she found that her hands had been restored. Filled with joyful gratitude, she built a shelter for herself, her baby, and the white doe.

Meanwhile, the King of Antioch had returned to his home, where he discovered that his wife and son had been banished. When he questioned his mother, she showed him the letter that she had thought was from him. Quickly realizing that the letter was a forgery, he went in search of Carcayona and his son. "And Allah guided him to where she was; and he cried out for her in his loudest voice, but she did not want to respond because he had betrayed her and ordered that she be thrown from her home."[37] The dove and her husband finally convinced Carcayona that he had not betrayed her and that the letter to his mother was a forgery. Overjoyed that her hands had been restored, the King of Antioch urged Carcayona to return with him, their son, and the white doe to his home. However, she refused: "I will not return to the place of such evil."[38] He agreed, then, to go with her to build "a new city where "the religion of Allah can be taught."[39]

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35 Guillén Robles I:216: "nunca más me verás".

36 Guillén Robles I:217: "Demanda, que no le manguan á Allah sus beneficios".

37 Guillén Robles I:219: "Y guiólo Allah adonde ella estaba; y él llmándola con lo más alto de so voz, y no quería responderle, porque le había hecho trayción y mandarla echar de su casa".

38 Guillén Robles I:220: "Yo no tornaré al lugar de tan mala yente".

39 Guillén Robles I:220: "una cibdad de nuevo, para que enseñasen en ella la religión de Allah".

They went to the banks of the Euphrates River, and they built the new city, which they named "Carcayona City."[40]

Folklorists have found many other versions of this archetypal handless maiden tale.[41] In his three-volume collection, *Leyendas moriscas*, Francisco Guillén Robles presented both a Christian and a Morisco version of the Carcayona story.[42] The two versions differ significantly, for the Christian story of "Arcayona" is much briefer, and it changes the dove's role to telling the maiden about Christianity rather than Islam. Moreover, the Christian tale ends as the King of Antioch rescues his wife and baby from the wilderness and takes them home with him where the miracle of the restoration of her hands causes everyone to thank God. Through "the true word," this version concludes, we are "free from all travail and anxiety, as was the beautiful maiden Arcayona."[43]

Animals play a symbolic and spiritual role in both of these versions of the story. The dove appears as a messenger of hope from Yahweh in the Hebrew story of the Flood, and it is often regarded as a symbol of the Holy Spirit in Christianity. The Morisco version of the Carcayona story gives the dove more prominence than the Christian version, for Moriscos gave more details about its bejeweled appearance and presented a longer colloquy in which the dove instructed the maiden about the true religion. In both Christian and Morisco accounts of the story, the unusual color of the doe and its key role in feeding Carcayona suggest that it is an animal through which a divine being is interacting with her and helping her survive. Significantly, the white doe remains with her as she goes to the castle

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[40] Guillén Robles I:220: "la cibdad Carcayona".

[41] Handless Maiden tales have been classified as type 706 in Antti Aarne, *The Types of the Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography*, translated and enlarged by Stith Thompson, Helsinki, 1961, pp. 240–241. Some other versions of this tale are entitled "The Handless Bride," "The Orchard," and "Silver Hands." Clarisa Pinkola Estés, *Women Who Run With the Wolves*, New York, 1995, discusses the tale in Chapter XIV, pp. 387–455. For more on analysis of fairy tales, see Marie-Louise von Franz, *The Feminine in Fairy Tales*, Dallas, 1972; and Vladimir Propp, *Morphology of the Folktale*, trans. Laurence Scott, Austin and London, 1979.

[42] Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas*, includes the Morisco story of Carcayona at I:181–221. This scholar states in his preliminary discussion that the *aljamiado* version was a Muslim adaptation of an earlier Christian tale of piety, at 1:42, and he includes the Christian version at I:42–53. Note that it is only 11 pages long, while the *aljamiado* version is 40 pages long.

[43] Guillén Robles I:53. For an important recent study of the impact of this handless maiden tale on Spanish Christians, especially the writers, please see Mary Quinn, "Handless Maidens, Modern Texts: A New Reading of Cervantes's The Captive's Tale," *Modern Language Notes* 123 (2008) pp. 213–229.

of her new husband, when she goes into exile a second time, and then in the Morisco version the doe goes with Carcayona, her husband and son to found a new city.[44]

The Morisco version of the story can be seen as a metaphor of Morisco experiences of wounding and exile, of hope and faith.[45] It gave them a way to remember their Muslim faith, and it could have both comforted and empowered Moriscos who suffered the loss of their autonomy, their names, their culture and religion. As thousands of Moriscos had to leave their homes under forcible expulsion, some even had to leave behind their children younger than seven years. Perhaps as they left Spain, these heartbroken parents remembered Carcayona's story and found some healing in their Muslim traditions, some hope in all their despair.

The Story of Job

Job is one of many Hebrew prophets who appear in the Qur'an.[46] In the Hebrew version, Job suffers alone, for his wife leaves him after he has been reduced to sores and is sitting in the ashes, saying spitefully, "Do you still hold fast your integrity? Curse God, and die."[47] Three men come to see the terrible things that have befallen Job, but they doubt his goodness and blame him for God's wrath, which they believe has caused his misfortunes. Just as in the Hebrew story of Job, the later Morisco version of his story clearly recognizes the close connection between God and mortals and recognizes the key role of the Devil (Eblis) in testing Job. It presents Job as an exemplar of suffering, compassion, faith and love—an inspiration, perhaps, for Moriscos who suffered much loss in early modern Spain.[48] Yet the Morisco story differs significantly from the Hebrew version because it not only names Job's wife, Rahma, and describes her as

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[44] For a Jungian discussion of both the role of animals in stories and their spiritual significance, see Marie-Louise vonn Franz, *An Introduction to the Psychology of Fairy Tales*, Zürich, 1975, pp. 18–25.

[45] Perry, *Handless Maiden*, esp. pp. 27–37 and 133–156.

[46] Job is in the Qur'an, at suras 21:83–84 and 38:42–45. The Morisco version of the story is in Guillén Robles, *Leyendas moriscas.* I:225–263; and also in Antonio Vespertino Rodríguez, ed., *Leyendas aljamiadas y moriscas sobre personajes bíblicos*, Madrid, 1983, pp. 272–299.

[47] *Holy Bible*, Revised Standard Version, Job 2:9.

[48] For more on the significance of the Morisco version of the story of Job, see Perry, "Patience and Pluck," pp. 91–106; and Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, pp. 123–125.

an exemplar along with her husband. It also presents her as the person through whom God worked to save Job's life.

After presenting a brief list of early Muslims who told this story, the Morisco story of Job begins with a description of his generosity and deep faith. Allah affirmed Job's virtue, but Eblis (the Devil) claimed that Job would no longer serve and praise Allah if he lost all his worldly goods. Confident of Job's piety, Allah declared without hesitation, "Go, I give you power over his goods."[49] Eblis quickly called together his evil company from the depths and the heights, and from the land and from the sea, "filling the land with them."[50] He ordered those who could breathe fire and fly with wings to attack the property of Job. Yet even as disaster struck both his wealth and his home, Job maintained his faith in God.

Disgusted that he had failed to shake Job's faith, Eblis complained to his evil followers. They advised him to use Job's wife to tempt him to give up his faith. Now disguised as a poor traveler, Eblis went to Rahma and asked her where the generous Job was, for he needed shelter in his home. When Rahma replied that Job no longer had a home or wealth to shelter anyone, Eblis tempted her, saying, "If he will no longer believe in Allah, I will return to him all his goods and children."[51] Grasping at hope, this woman—who had suffered along with Job the loss of their children, home, and earthly support—quickly went to Job and told him about the traveler's message. But Job was not tempted. "The glory and goods of this world vanish and end," he declared, "and the glory and pleasure of the other world are everlasting, will never end."[52]

Now disgruntled but not defeated, Eblis returned and challenged God to test Job's faith by giving Eblis power to afflict his body. God agreed, but he warned Eblis not to "harm his eyes and tongue: because I do not give you license nor power for that; and take care that you do not harm his wife, because she is his aid and support with my help."[53]

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[49] Guillén Robles I:228: "Ves, que yo te do(y) poder sobre sus bienes."

[50] Guillén Robles I:228: "y llenóse la tierra dellos. . . ."

[51] Guillén Robles: I:236: "Si descreyere de Allah [yo] le tornaría todos sus bienes y sus fiyos."

[52] Guillén Robles: I:237: "la gloria y bienes d'este mundo se van y se acaban; y la Gloria y plazer del otro es durable para siempre, que nunca se acabará."

[53] Guillén Robles I:238: "Vés, que yo te do(y) licencia y poder en su persona, que fagas lo que quieras, y guárdate que no le fagas mal en sus oxos y lengua; porque no te doy licencia, ni poder para ello; y guarda su muyer no le fagas daño, ni mal, porque ella es su ayuda y sostenimiento con mi ayuda."

Eblis returned to Job, fell at his feet, and blew a strong gust on him that "took him from the feet up to his throat, and burned all his body."[54] Over the next six days his body turned black, became covered with large pustules, and so much pus and matter ran from his body "that not a thing remained of his flesh, but his eyes and his tongue. Afterwards the flesh fell from his head, and his hair, so that nothing remained of him except his bones, and nerves, and veins, because the worms had eaten his flesh from his body. And in spite of all that Job did not cease from praising Allah and thanking him."[55]

Rahma took the poor hideous mass of her husband into her lap and tried to clean him, but the matter and pus and worms returned as soon as she washed them away. Then, when Eblis had incited their village to expel them, Rahma prepared a garment with a bag or sling that she could wear against her back. She told Job that she wanted to take him to a village of the Israelite tribe, because "perhaps they will be more charitable and compassionate for you than our neighbors."[56] She lifted the puddle of her husband into the sling and carried him on her back as the worms and pus from his ruined body ran down her back. Job apologized to her for the mess running down her back and its bad odor. "Oh my love," she replied, "Oh Job! For me your odor is better than the fragrance of musk."[57]

When they finally arrived at a village of the tribe of Israel, the people marveled at Rahma, her beauty and the strange garment on her back. She asked them to bring her a hoe so she could make a shelter for her husband Job. She built it with stones for its main support, and she placed here the bread that the Israelites had brought her. Then she cried in a loud voice, "Have mercy on this poor, weak, wounded, unfortunate wife of Job, the tested one; and if someone wants clothing washed, I will wash it for

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[54] Guillén Robles I:238: "lo tomó desde los piedes fasta su garganta, y encendióse todo su cuerpo. . . ."

[55] Guillén Robles I:239: "fasta que no quedó de sus carnes nenguna cosa, sino sus oxos y su lengua. Después vínosele á caer la carne de su cabeza, y sus pelos, fasta que no quedó dél sino los güesos, y nervios y venas, porque los gusanos se le habían comido sus carnes de su cuerpo. Y á pesar de todo aquello Job, no cesaba de hazer loaciones y agradecimientos, y servicios á Allah. . . ."

[56] Guillén Robles I:250: "por ventura serán más caritativos y más piadosos para tú que nuestros vecinos."

[57] Guillén Robles I:251: "Oh mi amado! oh Job! tu olor para mí es meyor que la olor del almizcle." Note that in the medieval period musk became regarded as an aphrodisiac and was prized as an expensive perfume made from a gland of the musk deer. Rahma's reply clearly contrasts with the spiritual importance of physical cleanliness of the body for people of Islam.

them; and if there is someone who wants bread kneaded, I will knead it."[58] Rahma thus signaled that she wanted to work for their food, and she was able to do this for many days until Eblis appeared, this time in the guise of a great sage known in the village. "Look," he advised the villagers, "throw that woman out of your village and do not let her work for you nor give her anything; because she will poison your food and ruin your goods from venom, and you will all come to the evil of her husband."[59]

The villagers threw Rahma out of the village, although she protested that her husband had been hungry for three days. She set out in search of food, leaving Job in the shelter she made. But when she had not returned by the time the sun had set, Job raised his voice with weeping and prayers to Allah. Feeling great compassion for Job, Allah called to Gabriel. "Go to my servant Job," he told the angel, "and greet him for me, and say that I have pity on him and that I have heard his prayer; and take him and carry him to Mount Sinai, and on it is a fountain with water, and bathe him and wash him in it."[60] At once Gabriel went to Job, placed him on his wings, and flew off to Mount Sinai. There he lowered his wings to duck the poor man into the fountain. Job emerged "resplendent as the moon of fourteen nights—as the full moon—and he was healthy as he was from the beginning, with the power of Allah."[61]

Rahma now returned to their shelter with a little food that she had been able to get for Job, but she could not find him. She tore at her face and body; she called and cried with her loudest voice. "Oh Job! I have suffered for you seven years and seven months; now at the point that I had hope of Allah, that Allah would have mercy on you, the wild beasts have come and have eaten you; you are my consolation, oh my love, oh Job, what devil has stolen you and carried you away?"[62] She followed the trail

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[58] Guillén Robles I:252–3: "Apiadadvos de esta pobre, flaca, ferida, desdichada, muyer de Job, el probado; é si quiere alguno que le labe ropas, lavárselas he; y si hay alguno que l'amase el pan, amasarle he."

[59] Guillén Robles I:253–4: "Mirad; avísovos, que echéis esa muyer de vuestra villa, y no le dexéis hacer vuestras faziendas, ni le deis ninguna cosa; porque vos emponzoñará vuestros vienes y viandas de ponzoña, y tornaréis todos del mal de su marido."

[60] Guillén Robles I:257: "Deziende á mi siervo Job, y salúdale de mi parte, y díle que ya me (he) apiadado dél, y que he oído su plegaria; y tómalo, y llévalo al monte de Sinaí, y en él hay una fuente con agua, y báñalo y lávalo en ella."

[61] Guillén Robles I:259: "como la luna relumbrante de catorce noches—como la luna llena;—y tornó sano, como era de primero, con el poderío de Allah".

[62] Guillén Robles I:260: "Oh Job! he sufrido por tú siete años y siete meses; pues al punto que yo tenía esperanza de Allah, que se apiadaría Allah de tú, han venido las fieras y se te han comido; tú eres mi consuelo, oh mi amado! oh Job! cuál diablo te ha robado, y se ha llevado?"

of worms that had undoubtedly come from her husband. "Oh my love, oh Job!" she cried, "How could I bear it without you? . . . Where will I lie down, and with whom shall I rest, and with whom shall I gather myself after you? Oh my love, oh my husband Job!"[63]

Hearing Rahma's lamentations, Gabriel urged Job to speak to her and draw her near to him. At first, Rahma did not recognize Job. Even when Job told her that he was her husband, she protested, "Don't make fun of me; Allah have mercy on you, because my husband Job was more handsome than you, when he was prosperous."[64] Job finally convinced her that he was her husband now healed by the mercy of Allah. As they embraced and wept together, Allah restored Job's goods to him, ten times more than what they had been at the beginning. Job returned to his place where he had served Allah before and again devoted himself to caring for the poor and needy and the orphans and widows. When he died, the story concludes, Allah received his soul and "had pity on him and placed him in his glory for his good works and for the good of his patience."[65]

Clearly, this story of Job could appeal to Moriscos who suffered so much injustice and cruelty in early modern Spain. Yet Rahma must have inspired her listeners even more with her compassion for suffering and her determination to survive—a model that many Morisco women seemed to follow. As Morisco men disappeared into hiding, captivity, and slavery, the women became the primary preservers of their families, culture, and faith. Notice, however, that the story does not make clear that this faith had to conform to any institutional religion. Instead, Job and Rahma's relationship to the divine is personal, and the assurance is that this divinity cares about them and directly intervenes in their lives.

The Birth of Jesus

Beginning with a focus on the Hebrew maiden, Mary, "The Birth of Jesus" traces her genealogy to the Hebrew king Solomon. It then tells how her

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[63] Guillén Robles I:260: "Oh mi amado! oh Job! cómo podré sufrirme sin tí? . . . á do me acostaré, y con quién me escansaré, y con quién me allegaré después de tú! oh mi amado! oh mi marido Job!"

[64] Guillén Robles I:261: "No fagas burla de mí; apiádese Allah de tú; porque mi marido Job era más fermoso que tú, cuando estaba en su prosperidad."

[65] Guillén Robles I:263: "y se apiadó del y lo puso en su gloria por su buena obra, y por la buena de su paciencia."

long-barren mother Anne finally became pregnant. In joyful thanksgiving, she prayed aloud in the temple that her child would live, and she promised to give the child—whether boy or girl—to the temple for service to the Lord. When she gave birth to a daughter, she named her Mary and told her brother-in-law Zachariah, a priest in the temple, of her pledge. He was not impressed, however, when she presented her infant daughter to him. "Women are not good for serving in the temple of the Lord," he told her, "better that they look after the younger children."[66] Then, just as Anne turned to leave in disappointment with her infant daughter, Zachariah told her to come back and show him the baby's face. When Anne uncovered the infant's face, it shone "as the moon." Allah cast great love for Mary in the heart of Zachariah as he saw her beauty. "Oh, Anne," he told her mother, "leaves her in my power, and your promise will be fulfilled."[67]

Some companions in the temple overheard the conversation, and they reminded Zachariah that they were qualified, too, to raise and teach the beautiful child. Instead of agreeing to raise her with the others, Zachariah proposed that they let Allah choose who was most qualified. Each of the men then wrote his name on a reed, and one wrote the name of Mary on another reed. They placed the reeds in running water and prayed to Allah to let the reed of the most qualified teacher come together with Mary's reed and let the other reeds sink. Three times they cast their reeds into the water, and three times the reed of Zachariah touched the reed of Mary while all the others submerged.

With some satisfaction, Zachariah now took over the rearing of the child Mary, enclosing her in a locked house where she could live in purity to learn to serve the Lord. As Mary grew into puberty, Allah sent Gabriel to her to bring her fruit from Allah. "Eat," the angel said, but she turned her face away and "hid it from fear because she thought he was *taquiye*, he who was believed to cause women who looked at him to be seized by love."[68] Here we note the term, *taqiye*, for it reveals another meaning that Moriscos may have associated with their own practice of *taqiyya*, and it suggests a warning that Moriscos must know the risks of pretending to

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[66] Guillén Robles I:119: "Las mujeres no son buenas para servir las tales casas del Señor, mas costriñe—cuida".

[67] Guillén Robles I:119–120: "Y tornóse Ana con María, y descubrió su cara, y estaba como la luna. Y echó Allah amorío grande en el corazón de Zacarías sobre María. . . . Pues cuando miró Zacarías á su fermosa (á la de María), dixo: '¡Oh Ana! déxala en mi poder, y complirse ha lo (que has) prometido."

[68] Guillén Robles I:122: "y ella escondió su cara de temor, porque pensaba que era taquiye—el que tenía el prestigio de arrebatar en amor, á las mujeres que miraba."

be Christians and be very clear about their own faith. It may also have reminded them to guard the virginity of women.

Gabriel assured Mary that he was not a man wishing to seduce her, but a messenger from Allah who sent him to bring her "the fruit of paradise and to tell you that you will have a spotless son . . . for Allah has chosen you above all the women of the world and has purified you."[69] Astounded, she asked how she could have a child, for she had not been with a man, "nor have I been bad."[70] Gabriel assured her that this was the order of her Lord who wanted it to be a marvel among people.

Mary protested that people of her tribe would kill her when they found that she, an unmarried maiden, was pregnant. However, Gabriel pointed out that Allah had honored her and would protect her so that they would not be able to kill her. Mary insisted that the Israelites would stone her, but Gabriel assured her that "their hearts are in the power of Allah."[71] As the angel continued to calm each of her concerns, Mary suddenly felt the baby stir within her. Gabriel smiled then and assured her that this was by the will of the "Lord of the world."[72] However, after the angel left her and Mary told Zachariah of his visit, she realized that he did not believe her story. Instead, he had concluded that someone got into her locked enclosure—perhaps with her assistance—and seduced her.

Later, when she knew that the baby would soon be born, Mary fled from her enclosure "for fear of Zachariah and those of the tribe of Israel."[73] In a desolate place she found refuge under a date palm that was "dry without fruit or sign of green."[74] She curled up in a hollow in the tree and Gabriel now came to her, urging her not to feel sad, but to notice that Allah had provided here a birthing bed for her. Although Mary had seen no fruit on the tree, the angel told her that dates would fall to her when she simply fixed her eyes on the fronds of the tree.

Here in the nurturing shelter of the date palm Mary gave birth to Jesus, "over him be salvation," as the story said, adding that this was "the best of births of any of the daughters of Adam."[75] Now at the moment of

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[69] Guillén Robles I:123: "fruta del paraiso en presente . . . y te anuncio que tendrás un fijo limpio . . . pues Allah te excogió sobre las mujeres del mundo, y te alimpió".

[70] Guillén Robles I:123: "que nunca se ha dallegado á mí hombre, ni he seido mal."

[71] Guillén Robles I:124: "Los corazones dellos son en poder de Allah."

[72] Guillén Robles I:125: "el señor del mundo".

[73] Guillén Robles I:126: "por miedo á Zacarías y de los de beni Yçraile".

[74] Guillén Robles I:126: "y fuese á un lugar despoblado; y allegóse á una tagilera—á una palmera—seca, de sin fruta, ni verdura. . . ."

[75] Guillén Robles I:127: "Despues María parió su preñado á Jesús, sobre él sea la salvación, en la mejor de las pariçiones, que nunca parió fija de Edam—de Adam."

birth, Allah opened the "gates of the heavens and seven tiers of angels descended to earth and a pillar of splendor that illuminated the earth and the heavens, by the power of the Lord of the world."[76] The baby, as he emerged from the womb, declared, "There is no Lord but Allah, and Jesus is the spirit of Allah and his word."[77] As she heard this, Mary praised Allah in gratitude for her miraculous baby.

However, back at Mary's enclosure, Zachariah shouted an alarm when he could not find her. Others from his tribe heard him and joined in a search for her—but so did Iblis, the devil, who was disguised as an old man. They met a shepherd running towards them white with fear. When Iblis and a few of the men stopped him, he gasped that he had "seen a thing that I have never seen before in my life. . . ." Questioned by the disguised devil, the shepherd went on to relate the events of the miraculous birth.[78]

Determined to distort all this, the devil returned to Zachariah and his group, declaring that the shepherd had confirmed Mary's evil. Twisting the shepherd's story, Iblis said that she had given birth to a child that she had conceived with the shepherd. Iblis incited Zachariah and the men to believe that she must die for this, and he convinced them that they must stone her. The search party found her in the hollow of the date palm, but when they accused her of adultery, she did not flinch. "I have not come with evil, nor did I sin in any way," she declared, "but ask the child, for he will tell you the truth, whether he is legitimate or illegitimate."[79]

In this moment, we see a major change in Mary from that frightened maiden who first turned away from Gabriel and ran to hide when she could not convince Zachariah of Gabriel's message of her divine pregnancy. Now, after the birth of her child, she had changed from child to mother, from frightened lamb to fierce lioness. She refused to flee or weep when

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[76] Guillén Robles I:127: "abrió Allah las puertas de los cielos, y baxaron á la tierra siete . . . filas de ángeles y un pilar de claredad, que resplandecía con él la tierra y los çielos, por el poderío del señor del mundo."

[77] Guillén Robles I:127: "Y al punto cayó Jesús del vientre de su madre, y salió dixendo: No hay señor sino Allah, y Jesús es . . . espiritú de Allah y su palabra."

[78] Guillén Robles, I: 128: "Yo bí las puertas de los çielos abiertas y ví siete filas de ángeles que baxaban del çielo á la tierra; y bí un pilar de claredad, que deslumbraban con él los çielos y la tierra; y bí una mujer que parió lo de su bientre, debaxo de una datilera; y bí el pilar de claredad delante della, y bí los ángeles delante della; y bí un niño de fuera de su vientre, que deçía: no hay señor sino Allah; yo soy Jesús, espíritu de Allah y su palabra." Note that the devil's name is spelled differently in this story than in that of Job.

[79] Guillén Robles, I:129: "Yo no he venido con maldad, ni haze pecado ninguno, empero preguntadlo al niño, él nos dirá la verdad, si es . . . legítimo ó . . . ilegítimo."

the angry men came to stone her and the baby. Instead, she defied those who accused her of evil, and she challenged them to learn the truth about her from the child—for she had heard the child speak as it left her womb. It would seem that Allah's blessing of her child had transformed her from demure girl to strong woman. Thus, her story becomes one of hope and reassurance that Allah directly intervenes in human lives, even in those who have been despised and defeated—such as the Moriscos who were suffering the loss of Islam and their Muslim culture. In this sense, the story could easily appeal to, and even empower, Moriscos attempting to resist Christian authorities.

The story continues as the infant Jesus defended and blessed his mother and healed those wounded in the attack. In a leap in time, we next hear that the child Jesus went with his mother to find a teacher for him. After questioning the child, the prospective teacher marveled at the knowledge of one so young and told his mother that her child "knows more than anyone I have ever seen."[80] Jesus grew into his youth working miracles with Allah's help, but people threw him and his mother out of the village. They accused him of witchcraft, resorting to the familiar strategy of many Old Christians suspicious of New Christians' religious isolation and nonconformist practices.[81] Fleeing from their accusers, Jesus and his mother went to a cave, where Mary died in her sleep. Jesus prayed over her body with "countless angels," who helped to bury her.[82]

Now in another leap of time, Jesus began his ministry of healing the crippled and blind, lepers and mutes. Resembling many of the gospel stories of Jesus' ministry, the Morisco story adds that Jesus worked all these miracles "with Allah's permission." [83] Iblis reappeared to convince others to say Jesus was the son of God, or the brother of Allah, but Jesus firmly maintained "that "there is no lord but Allah, and that Jesus is the spirit of Allah and his word."[84] When members of the tribe of Israel sought Jesus to kill him, they mistakenly killed a young man with him, and Allah raised

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[80] Guillén Robles, I:134: "él es más sabio que nenguno que no yo ví".

[81] For more discussion of witchcraft accusations of Moriscos, see Julio Caro Baroja, *Los moriscos del reino de Granada (Ensayo de Historia Social)*, Madrid, pp. 113, and 229–230; and Perry, *The Handless Maiden*, pp. 55–56.

[82] Guillén Robles, I:139: "con las filas de los ángeles, que no sabía su cuento—su número—sino Allah".

[83] Guillén Robles, I:142: "tullidos y ciegos, y mudos, y sanólos á todos, con liçençia de Allah".

[84] Guillén Robles, I:150: "no hay señor sino Allah, y que Jesús es espíritu de Allah y su palabra".

the living Jesus to heaven. "And because of that," the story concludes, "those of the tribe of Israel said that they had killed Jesus, which God wished; others said that Allah raised him [from the dead] because he was his son, and others that he was Allah. . . . All this was by the judgment and power of Allah."[85]

This Morisco story differs from the Christian gospels in several respects. First, it affirms that Jesus is a child favored by Allah, through whom the divinity acts; but it does not say that he was the Son of God. Moreover, the Morisco Mary had to depend even more on the direct intervention of Allah and Gabriel, for she had no kinswoman Elizabeth to confide in, nor did she have the protection of the loving and tolerant Joseph of Christian accounts. Furthermore, she lacked the pastoral serenity of a stable in Bethlehem, but had to trust Gabriel when he told her that the date palm was meant to be both her birthing bed and her source of nourishment during labor. In the Morisco version, the devil Iblis appeared in disguise to work evil among mortals with his supernatural powers of evil. In contrast, the Christian gospels tell of the evil worked by a mortal king, Herod, who feared the newborn babe.

Yet the greatest contrast is the major change in the Morisco Mary from that frightened maiden who first turned away from Gabriel and could not convince Zachariah of Gabriel's visit and message. Obviously, pregnancy and birth transformed her biologically from child to mother. But even more, the Morisco Mary defied those who raced to her birthing bed to accuse her of evil. She challenged them to learn the truth about her from the child, himself—for she had heard the child speak to clearly identify himself as he emerged from her womb. And she knew from giving birth to him that Allah had worked directly through her.

The story leaves us with many possibilities. The miracle of Allah's presence in Mary's life and the miracle of her child probably most transformed her from timid girl to strong woman. Perhaps her story became a tale of hope and reassurance that Allah directly intervenes in human lives, even in those who have been defeated, who have lost their own faith and identities, whose deity has been banned—such as the Moriscos who were suffering the loss of Islam and their Muslim culture. Mary's acknowledgement of hearing the words spoken by her child as he was born may have

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[85] Guillén Robles, I:158: "y por aquello dixeron los de beni Yçrayle que Jesús era el que habían muerto, y desyerraron para Dios: otros dixeron que lo alçó Allah porque era su fijo, y otros que era Allah . . . Esto todo fué por yudiçio de Allah y su poderío."

become an invitation for Moriscos to display sacred courage, and dare to acknowledge and tell their own personal stories. In this sense, "The Birth of Jesus" could easily appeal to—and even empower—Moriscos attempting to resist Christian authorities. Paradoxically, in revealing the lack of substantial spiritual difference between Islam and Christianity, the story might even have supported attempts to assimilate or hybridize the two faiths.

Analysis of the Three Stories

These three stories of Carcayona, Job, and Jesus offered reassurance to Moriscos who were struggling with issues of faith, whether they chose to resist, hybridize faith, or assimilate to Christianity. Those who wanted to reaffirm their Muslim faith as they resisted Christianization learned from Carcayona that Allah could heal them, even as they suffered the loss of their homes, autonomy, and identity that had been taken from them. Job and Rahma taught Moriscos that Allah does not forsake believers, even though there is a Devil who can work devastating evil in their lives. In this story Moriscos could see that Allah had great compassion for their suffering. With their story of the birth of Jesus, they learned that Allah's spirit works through all sorts of people and that everything is done through the wisdom and power of Allah—whether hiding evidence of their Muslim faith, teaching Islam to their children, or taking armed action against Christian authorities. Clearly, none of these affirmations could provide actual arms and allies for Morisco rebels, but they could provide strong empowerment as some Moriscos chose to dissimulate or to rebel.

However, it is also possible that the stories could reassure those Moriscos who favored a synthesis of Islam and Christianity, as well as those who were trying to simply adapt to Christianity. Moriscos could have known about—or even invented—the Christian version of the story of Carcayona as a way to align its message more easily with synthesis or assimilation, changing and abbreviating the dove's message to Christian teachings. Perhaps they understood Job and Rahma's story as assurance of the close relationship between Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—for Job figures in each of these Abrahamic religions. While the *aljamiado* version of the birth of Jesus seems very similar to the story contained in sura 19 of the Qur'an, the veneration of Mary had been growing among Christians in early modern Spain from a popular form of religious enthusiasm into

an acceptable teaching of the Immaculate Conception.[86] Note, however, that the Morisco version of the story does not say that Mary's child was the Son of God, a fundamental Christian doctrine. Neither does it state that Mary had been born without original sin, nor that she remained an eternal virgin after the birth of Jesus—two doctrines increasingly taught by the Spanish Catholic Church in this time, as well as by the Eastern Orthodox Church. However, the story presents him as the spirit of God and the word of God—two terms that Christians used in their descriptions of Jesus.

The strong female protagonist is striking in each of the three stories. Even when she is handless, Carcayona knows her faith very clearly and depends upon it to empower her even more. Rahma suffers and weeps with her husband, but she does not forsake her faith. She nurses Job, feeding him, carrying him on her back, ever declaring her love for him and her strong faith. Mary becomes transformed in the story of the birth of Jesus so that she defies those who would stone her, and she protects her son from harm. All three women become symbols of love and compassion, and their stories offer the appeal of both the nurturing mother and a loving Creator who moves in human lives—two archetypes appearing in Jewish and Muslim, as well as Christian, traditions. Not surprisingly, the nurturing mother and loving Creator also appear in two well-known attempts at religious hybridity: the *Libros Plúmbeos* of Spain and the *santos* of the indigenous folk art of the American Southwest.[87]

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[86] For more on devotion to the Immaculate Conception, which dates from the 13th century, see Suzanne Stratton, *The Immaculate Conception in Spanish Art*, Cambridge, 1994; and A. Katie Harris, who discusses popular and religious movements in Granada in *From Muslim to Christian Granada: Inventing a City's Past in Early Modern Spain*, Baltimore, 2007. Several scholars see the possibilities of Marian devotion for attracting Moriscos to Christianity; See, for example, Francisco Márquez Villanueva, *El problema morisco (desde otras laderas)*, Madrid, 1991, who discusses the possibilities of syncretism between Islam and Christianity through the figure of Mary, and finds in Cervantes' writings a belief that the expulsion of the Moriscos abruptly ended the assimilation of Moriscos that was already in process, p. 181; and José María Delgado Gallego, "Maurofilia y maurofobia, dos caras de la misma moneda?" in *Narraciones moriscas*, Seville, 1986, pp. 22–30.

[87] For an important seventeenth-century source on the Libros Plúmbeos, see Adam Centurion, *Informancion para la historia del Sacromonte, llamado de Valparaiso y antiguamente Illipulitano junto a Granada*, Pt. 1, (1632), in the Biblioteca Capitular de Sevilla; and Anjela M. Cannarelli Peck, "The *Libros plúmbeos* and the Divine Feminine: Mary, Alchemy, and the Magical Star of Solomon," unpublished paper presented at the University of Colorado, Feb. 2008. For *santos*, see Claire Farago, "The Sacred, the Secret, and the Ethics of Historical Interpretation: What I Learned from the Santos of New Mexico," in *Medieval and Early Modern Devotional Objects*, pp. 229–248.

Yet evil appears very actively in each of the stories, as Moriscos must have recognized in their own lives. Carcayona had to contend with not only a seductive and cruel father, but also with the evil done by the women who forged a letter from her husband denouncing her to his mother. Iblis appears in disguise with his strong supernatural powers of evil in both the story of Job and Rahma and that of Mary and Jesus. He is a master of disguises, who can continue to find new ways to confound goodness by working his evil through other people, particularly striking in the story of the birth of Jesus. In contrast with the Christian accounts that tell of the evil threatened by a mortal king, Herod, who feared the newborn babe, Iblis threatens the lives of both Mary and her baby in the Morisco story—and he continues to threaten Jesus's life as he becomes an adult. Perhaps the Moriscos' experiences of hatred and cruelty in early modern Spain led them to give a greater role in their stories to a more powerful devil, who infused his supernatural powers of evil into human form. And it could also have led them to determine that they would act on their own behalf, choosing to be survivors rather than victims, to develop their own spirituality, whether they resisted, assimilated, or sought synthesis of the two faiths.

In each of the three stories, human protagonists experienced an encounter with the divine that millions have found in countless variations around the world. Clearly, the Moriscos who heard and told these stories could have heard in them the movements, images, and messages in Christian stories of countless saints. The miraculous healing of Carcayona, the compassionate rescue of Job and Rahma, the amazing birth of Jesus, and transformation of Mary must have touched many Morisco hearts as they struggled with oppression and expulsion.

Although we cannot know with certainty how many Moriscos heard and told these tales, there is no question that the stories tell us more about these people—their longings and needs, their hopes for redemption, their belief in a divine power that speaks in words and reaches down to mere mortals with strength, love, and compassion. Moreover, these stories urge us to turn from a bipolar analysis of Moriscos as either resisters or assimilators and explore all the gradations of strategies they devised to survive. The stories make it very clear that religion for these people was not simply about conformity to an institutionalized official religion. Instead, it must be seen as a personal effort by individuals to find their own relationships with a divine being.

CHAPTER NINE

THE MORISCO PROBLEM IN ITS MEDITERRANEAN DIMENSION: EXILE IN CERVANTES' *PERSILES*

Steven Hutchinson

Of the three Cervantine episodes pertaining to the expulsion of the Moriscos—those of the Granadan Morisco in the *Colloquy of the Dogs*, of Ricote and Ana Félix in *Don Quixote*, and of the Valencian Moriscos in the *Persiles*—the last of these has perhaps posed the most difficulties. Many readers and critics have seen in this text (book III, chapter 11 of the *Persiles*)[1] an authorial indictment of the Moriscos and, which amounts to the same thing, an approval of the expulsion. And since the *Persiles* is the only posthumous work of Cervantes, his final word, it tends to assume the character of a literary testament. There is in fact no lack of negative details in this episode.[2] Although our traveling protagonists are received "not in a Moorish but in a Christian manner" by the Moriscos of this village, Periandro recalls how the people of Jerusalem crucified Christ a week after receiving him with palm branches, and Rafala, the Christian daughter of the Morisco host, warns the women that her father intends to be the pilgrims' "executioner" and that this very night a Barbary fleet

[1] The edition used here is *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda*, 2nd ed., ed. Carlos Romero (Madrid, Cátedra, 2002). All translations of this text and others in Spanish are mine. The other two episodes are to be found in *Don Quixote* part II, chs. 54 and 63–65, and in the *Coloquio de los perros*, in Cervantes' *Novelas ejemplares*, ed. Harry Sieber, Madrid, 1980, vol. 2, pp. 349–50.

[2] In this regard, J. Ignacio Díez Fernández and Luisa Fernanda Aguirre de Cárcer observe: "This negativity can be related to three considerations. 1) The Moriscos of the *Persiles* come from one of the least Christianized regions of the Peninsula [...]. 2) The genre and tone of the *Persiles*, i.e., the epic and seriousness that largely schematize the vision of reality [...]. 3) The *Persiles* is an unfinished work, and it does not seem possible to draw very categorical conclusions about the last of Cervantes' narratives or, on the basis of this work, about the rest of Cervantes' works. Nonetheless, it ought to be remembered that genre imposes certain conditions: in this Tridentine epic the enemies are very clearly marked in the narrative, and such a choice of genre is by no means 'innocent' " ("Contexto histórico y tratamiento literario de la 'hechicería' morisca y judía en el *Persiles,*" in *Tres discursos de mujeres. (Poética y hermenéutica cervantinas)* [by J. Ignacio Díez Fernández], Alcalá de Henares, 2004, p. 244).

is coming to take away all the people of the village and whatever they can carry with them. The pilgrims take refuge in an impregnable church, where Rafala's uncle, the only other Christian Morisco in the village, pronounces a diatribe against the Moriscos. Once they hear of the arrival of the ships, the villagers utter shouts of happiness, burn what they can, attack the church, knock down a stone cross on the road leading out of the village and let the Turks in to pillage. Only when they set sail in the ships do the Moriscos start to have misgivings about leaving, and in the church the uncle Xarife continues his diatribe, praising the future king of Spain, destined to expel the Moriscos. Other details likewise point to the supposedly insidious nature of the Moriscos. It would appear that the Moriscos are deceitful, pernicious, insincere, sacrilegious, blasphemous, heretical, traitorous, intolerant and incapable of assimilating as they should to the culture and society of Counter-Reformation Spain; their only saving grace in this text, it would seem, is embodied in the beautiful Christian Rafala and her devout uncle Xarife.[3]

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[3] He is referred to in the text as the *xadraque*, a word whose meaning is by no means clear. According to the *Diccionario de la Real Academia Española* (under *jadraque*), "among Muslims it is a title of respect given to sultans and princes", a noun hypothetically derived from the Arabic *shadrat*. If this is the meaning in Cervantes' text, the use of the term with regard to this character is more than ironic since there is nothing in the text to justify such deference.

The etymology suggested by Brian Dutton for Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce's edition of the *Persiles* and cited in Carlos Romero's edition seems highly unlikely: "According to [...] Brian Dutton, the probable etymology is the Arabic *shidyaq* [i.e., شياق], from the Greek *'υποδιάκονος*, i.e., *subdiácono* [in Spanish], meaning 'sacristan' in this context" (*Persiles* III,11 in both editions). I mention this because a number of critics—and even an English translation of the *Persiles*—have assumed on the basis of these notes that *xadraque* means sacristan. One might also recall that there is a place called Jadraque (formerly Xadraque, Xadaraque...) in the province of Guadalajara.

Even the name *Xarife* betrays a dose of irony in this text. In his play *El gallardo español*, Cervantes plays time and again with the resonances of "Xarife" (descendant of Muhammad via Fatima, a Moroccan dynasty, "noble") with regard to the character Nacor, who considers himself to be descended from the Prophet, and whose conduct is by no means noble. In the *Persiles*, Rafala says that her uncle, the *xadraque Xarife*, is "a Moor only in name, and Christian in his actions" (III,11,552).

Modern editorial practice typically states that it modernizes orthography except when this would alter the original pronunciation, and yet it systematically changes the *x* of Arabic words and names into a *j* as though this involved no change of pronunciation. I have restored the *x* in *Xarife, xadraque* and other words because they obviously were pronounced *sh*, although a shift would later take place from *sh* to the Spanish *j*, as linguist colleagues have informed me. Since both Arabic and Spanish during this period used both of these phonemes, and the texts maintained the difference between them by different spelling, why eliminate the *x* (i.e., *sh*)? This proves to be especially absurd in the case of Xarife (and Xarifa, in the classic text *El Abencerraje*), where *Sharīf* / *Sharīfa* means "noble" and *Jarīf* / *Jarīfa* (as pronounced in Spanish) would connote senile, outdated, autumnal...

Of course practically no one fails to notice the apparent irony whereby the character who pronounces such a harangue against the Moriscos is himself a Morisco, and—except when this is seen as a proof of authorial condemnation of the Moriscos, since even one of their own denounces them—from here on many doubts arise about the possible meanings of this episode. In his ground-breaking essay "El morisco Ricote . . ." (1975), Francisco Márquez Villanueva asserted that criticism had been disoriented regarding this episode of the *Persiles*, which nearly everyone had seen as adverse in its portrayal of the Moriscos, and he situated the episode convincingly within its historical context, particularly by relating the anti-Morisco harangues of the *xadraque* to the apologetic texts that attempt to justify the expulsion while it was happening or shortly afterwards[4]—a body of literature still scarcely known by most commentators of the Cervantine episodes on the Moriscos despite its providing indispensable keys for understanding them. Many other passages in these apologetic texts could in fact be indicated as corroborating Márquez Villanueva's arguments and revealing the *xadraque* to be a sort of parrot that echoes the apologists with a string of absurdities.

As far as I am aware, this episode has been seen exclusively from a Spanish, Christian perspective. Thus the actions of this crypto-Muslim village are judged by criteria of social, cultural and religious assimilation—and of course these Moriscos aren't *good* ones. Helped by a narrator of Counter-Reformation sympathies—by no means to be confused with the author Cervantes—the two Christian Moriscos monopolize all that is said about their Muslim Morisco neighbors, obfuscating a very distinct reality that the text nonetheless allows us to discern in the background. The other Moriscos are a voiceless, faceless community, yet we do witness

[4] Francisco Márquez Villanueva, "El morisco Ricote o la hispana razón de Estado," in his book *Personajes y temas del «Quijote»*, Madrid, 1975, pp. 232, 285–95. Other studies that I have consulted for the analysis of this episode of the *Persiles*, but which do not appear explicitly in the text or in other notes of this essay, include the following: María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, "Musulmanes y moriscos en la obra de Cervantes: beligerancia y empatía," *Fundamentos de Antropología*, 6–7 (1997), pp. 66–67; Aurora Egido, "Las voces del *Persiles*," in Caroline Schmauser and Monika Walter eds., *¿«¡Bon compaño, jura Di!»? El encuentro de moros, judíos y cristianos en la obra cervantina*, Pamplona, 1998, pp. 107–33; *La expulsión de los moriscos del reino de Valencia* [catalogue of an exhibition of paintings commissioned by Philip III], by various authors, Valencia, 1997; Alban K. Forcione, *Cervantes's Christian Romance: A Study of «Persiles y Sigismunda»*, Princeton, 1972; Isabel Lozano Renieblas, "Religión e ideología en el *Persiles* de Cervantes," in Ruth Fine and Santiago López Navia ed., *Cervantes y las religiones*, Pamplona, 2008, pp. 361–76; Emilio Sola and José F. de la Peña, *Cervantes y la Berbería. Cervantes, mundo turco-berberisco y servicios secretos en la época de Felipe II*, Madrid, 1995.

some of their actions as a group. I believe it is necessary to complement Hispano-Christian perspectives, and in certain ways challenge them, with others focused on the Moriscos themselves, on Islam and on the Mediterranean world they inhabit. Fernand Braudel affirms: "Everything that has been said or written about 'colonialism' at any time and in any country, is strangely true of the reconquered kingdom of Granada," and he says the same about the Moriscos of Valencia, "a typical colonial territory."[5] The "colonial" aspects of the kingdom of Valencia—the unequal distribution of rich and poor lands, the relations between the nobility and *their* Morisco laborers, the apparatus of state and local power, the impotence and silence of the weak, the efforts on the part of the Church and the Inquisition to proselytize and control them, the opposition between peoples and cultures, etc.—were in effect more marked here than in other regions of Spain. The episode in the *Persiles* captures something of this colonial pattern in details such as the presence of just two Old Christians in the village—the priest and the notary, curiously—as well as the hatred of the two Christian Moriscos towards their own people, the obvious rejection on the part of the villagers toward all that oppresses them, and the collective will to go into exile so as to free themselves from the unbearable subjugation that aims to deprive them of their religion, language and *modus vivendi*. This village of Moriscos has very little in common with the village of Sancho Panza and the Morisco shopkeeper Ricote in La Mancha, where the coexistence and assimilation (on the part of the Moriscos) is a fact of life.

The recognition of such a "colonial" situation in this episode requires at the very least an interpretation whose criteria are free of the hegemonic values of Church and State, one that takes into account not only the "colonizers" but also the "colonized." The crypto-Muslim Moriscos of the *Persiles* aren't assimilable to the dominant culture because they don't want to be, and it would be unreasonable to judge them unfavorably on that basis—as has nearly always been done—as though they were incapable of

[5] Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, London, 1972, vol. 2, pp. 786–90. Braudel reflects on the Moriscos as *fellahin*, peasant farmers: "Spain had inherited all the great irrigation networks along with the labour force of *fellahin* who were necessary to keep them in good order. The Lérida plain was still being worked by *fellahin* in the sixteenth century; *fellahin* were farming the Rioja in the Ebro valley; and *fellahin* were to be found in Valencia, Murcia, and Granada: *fellahin* or, more accurately Moriscos, whose Spanish masters cared for and protected them in the same spirit as they would their livestock and exactly as they were to protect their slaves in the New World" (vol. 1, p. 75). Regarding the theme of internal colonialism—and with specific reference to this episode of the *Persiles*—see also William Childers, *Transnational Cervantes*, Toronto, 2006, pp. 176, 187.

doing what they *ought* to do (assimilate to the dominant culture, behave in a docile way, not only tolerate but also emulate the most enthusiastic Christians among them, reject everything related to Islam, Arabic, etc.). Their decision to go into exile in North Africa cannot have been simple or frivolous: the text puts into plain view this voluntary exile of a whole village, and alludes to many similar cases of exile. How could these Moriscos have come to such a drastic determination?

Let's listen to the lovely Rafala, who explains to the women pilgrims "in the [Romance] vernacular tongue" ("en lengua aljamiada")—probably Valencian, though the text reads in Spanish:

> Sixteen ships of Barbary corsairs [. . .] are going to take away all the people of this village, with all their belongings, without leaving anything behind worth coming back for. These hapless people believe that the pleasure of their bodies and the salvation of their souls is in Barbary, without realizing that, of the many villages that have crossed over almost in their entirety, there is none that sends back news of anything but regret and suffering. The Barbary Moors only speak marvels about their lands, thus persuading the Moriscos here to leave and fall into the snare of their misfortune. (III,11,551)

From these statements we can surmise that the Moriscos of this village have concerted with the corsairs to come and take them to North Africa, just as many other villages have done. The number of ships would indicate that this is a large operation. The allegation that the Moriscos "believe that the pleasure of their bodies and the salvation of their souls is in Barbary" is nothing but conventional anti-Muslim propaganda, linking sexual practices from across the sea (e.g., polygamy and perhaps sodomy) with the "false sect" of Muhammad. By the same token, the assertion that the Morisco emigrants are known to be remorseful doesn't jibe with the fact that Moriscos in Spain keep going into exile of their own accord. Nor is it convincing that the Moors from the other side seduce the naive Moriscos on this side, since it is the Moriscos who request deliverance. Judging by similar cases in the sixteenth century, one can assume that the crypto-Muslims on the coast knew very well what they were doing, that there was a good deal of contact between them and the ex-Moriscos of North Africa, and that Barbary privateering not only served to transgress the new geopolitical barriers between both groups but also offered a means of exit for the Morisco communities who saw no alternative more viable than pulling up stakes and resettling on the other shore.[6]

[6] As Míkel de Epalza observes, "The Moriscos after the expulsion are no longer Moriscos. They are only called that by European historiography, because they or their direct

Less worried than what might be expected of him, the village priest confirms that the corsair landings are frequent, and he gives us to understand that they don't come with the intention of destroying the church or doing harm to those who take refuge within it: "For many days [the Moriscos] have been alarming us about the coming of those Barbary ships, and although *these forays are habitual*, the delay of this one caught me somewhat unawares. Come in, my children, for the church has a good tower and good iron doors which, *unless by express purpose*, cannot be knocked down or set on fire" (III,11,553).

The historical backdrop evoked by this embarkation of Moriscos is quite blurred. How many Moriscos (or villages of Moriscos) crossed over voluntarily to North Africa during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries? in what circumstances? from where, and to where? Míkel de Epalza, whose research—together with that of Luis Bernabé Pons[7]—has helped enormously to clarify the destiny of the *andalusíes* in North African societies, contextualizes the gradual demographic exodus:

> Throughout the Middle Ages and during the 16th and 17th centuries the Muslim population of the Iberian Peninsula gradually diminished by a continual emigration towards Muslim countries. Authorized by Christian authorities in the time of the Mudejars after the conquest of either a city or a territory, this exodus was forbidden for various reasons throughout the 16th century yet continued to occur in clandestine ways, either directly via the peninsular coasts or indirectly via other European countries. [. . .]
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> Nonetheless, despite these restrictions on emigration, a great many Moriscos crossed over to Islamic countries [. . .]. *Most of these departures were clandestine and still have not been documented.* But some have been studied.[8]

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forebears were Moriscos when they were in Spain. But they would also integrate into their new homelands without their specific designation within Spanish society" (*Los moriscos antes y después de la expulsión*, Madrid, 1992, p. 133). For the same reason we might add that the Moriscos who left Spain *before* the expulsion (1609–14) were likewise no longer Moriscos.

[7] Luis F. Bernabé Pons, "Las emigraciones moriscas al Mágreb: balance bibliográfico y perspectivas," in *Relaciones hispano-marroquíes: una vecindad en construcción*, ed. Ana I. Contreras and Fernando Ramos, Madrid, 2005, pp. 63–100; and Bernabé Pons, "Cervantes y el islam: una revisión historiográfica," in *Cervantes entre las dos orillas*, ed. María Jesús Rubiera Mata. Alicante, 2006, pp. 21–58.

[8] Epalza, pp. 83, 85. Antonio Domínguez Ortiz and Bernard Vincent also refer to the continual demographic *goteo* (trickling) in the sixteenth century as part of "the human hemorrhage that started in the depths of the Middle Ages." Many Moriscos, they add, "among those who lived near the coast crossed over to the other shore of the Mediterranean, either by their own means, or by taking advantage of piratic incursions. The flights from the kingdoms of Granada and Valencia to North Africa added up to quite a few

The general tendency among scholars has been to pay little attention to this considerable and continual exodus. Many have relied directly or indirectly on evidence provided by Pascual Boronat, who in turn depends on "Viciana, Escolano and other historians" to summarize what he calls "the main piracies on our levantine coasts until the end of the sixteenth century."[9] If we discard a few incidents, such as the disastrous expedition of Carlos V to Algiers in 1541 (Boronat informs us that the emperor *took* [*tomó*] Algiers),[10] we are left with some 34 *piracies* in which the corsairs scored as many failures as successes. The raids varied in magnitude from a few corsairs to many hundreds, from a single ship to more than twenty. They were distributed in three periods: 11 of them 1528–36, 18 of them 1543–56, and 3 of them 1582–84 (the other two occurred in 1519 and 1560 and were of scant importance). In five of these cases Boronat refers explicitly to Moriscos who either collaborated with the invaders or embarked with them to go into exile. As a factual base this list is very incomplete: wherever one looks one finds references to raids as important as those mentioned here, or even more so. Boronat himself, for example, much further on cites a text of *Apuntamientos* of the Padre Diago in which an episode is related that does not figure in the inventory:

> At this time fourteen Moorish ships came and 500 Moors disembarked near Callosa, and *they took with them 170 households of Moors. And among those who willingly went with them from there and nearby villages, there were 2,200 men, women and children.* Mossen Bou, lord of Callosa, don Alonso Fajardo, lord of Palop, and don Henrique Dixar, lord of [left blank in original] suffered great harm because those villages were depopulated.[11]

The very defective data of Boronat allow Henri Lapeyre, in his classic study of the geography of the Moriscos in Spain, to ignore the demographic importance of the flight of Moriscos from the kingdom of Valencia between 1527 and 1609.[12] Especially dubious is the temporal distribution of "the principal piracies" chosen by Boronat. Was there no important raid before 1528, and were there only three after 1556, and those confined to the years 1582–84? Ramiro Feijoo, in contrast, identifies 24 raids between 1581

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thousand over the sixteenth century. Nothing should surprise us about this if we take into consideration the oppressive situation in which they lived." (*Historia de los moriscos. Vida y tragedia de una minoría*, Madrid, 1985, p. 225).

[9] Pascual Boronat y Barrachina, *Los moriscos españoles y su expulsión*, Valencia, 1901, vol. 1, p. 207.

[10] Boronat, vol. 1, p. 209.

[11] Boronat, vol. 1, p. 681.

[12] Henri Lapeyre, *Géographie de l'Espagne morisque*, Paris, 1959, pp. 30–31.

and 1586 alone.[13] Drawing on a handful of modern studies, José Antonio Martínez Torres lists 51 corsair raids on the eastern and southern Spanish coasts from 1502 until 1584, and these are fairly evenly distributed throughout the entire period.[14] According to this and other similar evidence—and contrary to what has so often been alleged—one must assume that corsair activities intensified *after* the great naval confrontations of the 1570s and the peace treaties with Istanbul in the following years. As Braudel points out, privateering once again replaced the war of great fleets, and since Algiers—which entered into its "second brilliant age," 1580–1620—and other Islamic and Christian cities depended substantially on corsair activities, it was imperative on their part to acquire material and human spoils by means of coastal raids and maritime attacks.[15] Undoubtedly the new chain of defenses on the Spanish coast made the raids more difficult, but these continued to occur, and by way of anecdote one might recall that nothing good is said in Cervantes' writings, either in this chapter of the *Persiles* or in other works (*Los baños de Argel*, vv. 14–30 and 123–30; *El amante liberal*)[16] about the men (*atajadores*) charged with protecting the coasts against such attacks. The fact that raids took place does not mean, of course, that the feared attack by the Turkish fleet, with the collaboration of the *fifth column* of Moriscos, was in any way viable.

Nonetheless, Boronat does provide interesting cases, some of which are quite similar to the landing of corsairs in the *Persiles*:

> 1529. The moriscos of the kingdom of Valencia and of the count of Oliva *appealed for help from the Turk to cross over to Barbary, and one night, close to Oliva, Cachidiablo embarked and took more than 200 with him*. Portuondo, general of the Spanish galleys, was offered 10,000 escudos by the count to pursue them, and the corsairs disembarked all the Moriscos from Oliva on

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[13] Ramiro Feijoo, *Corsarios berberiscos. El reino corsario que provocó la guerra más larga de la historia de España*, Madrid, 2003, p. 119.

[14] José Antonio Martínez Torres, *Prisioneros de los infieles. Vida y rescate de los cautivos cristianos en el Mediterráneo musulmán* (*siglos XVI–XVII*), Barcelona, 2004, pp. 157–59.

[15] Braudel, vol. 2, pp. 867–90. Braudel explains: "The list of privateering centres in the Mediterranean is a roll-call of strategic cities: in Christendom, Valetta, Leghorn and Pisa, Naples, Messina, Palermo and Trapani, Malta, Palma de Majorca, Almería, Valencia, Segna and Fiume; on the Moslem side, Valona, Durazzo, Tripoli in Barbary, Tunis-La Goletta, Bizerta, Algiers, Tetouan, Larache, Salé. From this list, three new towns stand out: Valetta, founded by the Knights of Malta in 1566; Leghorn, re-founded in a sense by Cosimo de' Medici; finally and above all the astonishing city of Algiers, the apotheosis of them all" (vol. 2, p. 870).

[16] Miguel de Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, ed. Harry Sieber, Madrid, 1981, vol. 1, p. 146.

> the island of Formentera. There followed a battle at sea, Portuondo was killed, and once the Moriscos and the ships were recovered they were all taken to Algiers.
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> 1534. The Moriscos of the barony of Parcent tried to embark this year. *Moorish corsairs from the sea came at their bidding and took most of them away*; they also took Pedro Andrés de Roda, lord of the barony, as captive, together with the servants and family of his house.[17]

All the more similar is the case of 1582 narrated by pseudo-Haedo (not included by Boronat) in which the *Turks*, in a corsair campaign with 22 galleys under the command of Ḥasan Basha Veneciano, Cervantes' former master,

> navigated with his ships in the vicinity of Altea, near Alicante, where Ḥasan Basha came ashore and advised some Moriscos (*who had written to him four months earlier beseeching him to come and get them in his galleys and take them to Algiers*) to come and embark *with all their belongings*, and to facilitate this he sent two thousand Turkish musketeers to receive them and give them safe passage. This was done, and *almost 2,000 Moriscos embarked, both men and women*.[18]

As Carlos Romero Muñoz points out in his edition of the *Persiles*, it is very possible that Cervantes had this incident in mind when he wrote the episode about the Moriscos. Although Ḥasan Basha had just attacked and robbed Catalan towns, and taken captives, the object of this incursion was very different: to enable the Morisco villagers who had contacted him months earlier to leave Spain.

And this is precisely what happens in the *Persiles*: at the Moriscos' request, the corsairs undertake a rescue operation on behalf of their fellow Muslims. This raid bears little resemblance to the four other raids narrated in Cervantes' works. In *La gran Sultana* some *Turks* capture the character Clara *alias* Zaida and a few others in Transylvania, far from the sea. *Los baños de Argel* begins with nothing other than a raid where corsairs from Bizerta, guided by a Spanish *renegade*, sack a village on the Spanish coast and take numerous captives with them. In *El amante liberal* an attack on the Sicilian coast by "many Turks on two corsair ships from Bizerta" results in the captivity of the two protagonists, Leonisa and

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[17] Boronat, vol. 1, pp. 208–09.

[18] Fray Diego de Haedo [a work attributed today to Antonio de Sosa], *Topografía e historia general de Argel* [1612], ed. Ignacio Bauer y Landauer, Madrid, 1927, part II [*Epítome de los reyes de Argel*], chapter 23, nº 2.

Ricardo, along with three others, and the death of four corsairs. It is especially interesting, nonetheless, to compare the episode of the *Persiles* with the raid narrated in *La Galatea*, where the narrator Silerio concludes by saying that

> everything was sacked by those *unbelieving dogs* who, after *burning the houses, robbing the temples, deflowering the virgins and killing the defenders*, more tired than satisfied by what they had done, as the dawn was approaching, without any impediment returned to their ships, having already loaded them with the best that could be found in the town, *leaving it desolated and without people, because most of them were being taken away*, and the rest had retreated to the hills.[19]

All of this narrative reads like a chaotic string of atrocities perpetrated by the *Turks*, with emphasis on the rape of virgins and sacrilegious acts in addition to robberies, deaths and many captives. (Silerio, by the way, does not explain how the corsairs enjoy such leisure and security as to rape virgins, or why they only choose virgins.) If we take away the sensationalist elements, the episode reproduces the most typical traits of a violent corsair raid. Next to this *razzia*, that of the *Persiles* looks more like a charitable, humanitarian act in favor of a Morisco community—an act with political, religious and cultural implications. In no other raid in Cervantes' works do Moriscos appear. It would also seem that the authorial perspective regarding Spain and the Mediterranean has turned around to some degree between his first novel and his last.

We know that the *Morisco problem* was an important concern in Muslim countries throughout the sixteenth century, and that many Moriscos wanted to go into exile. But in the *Persiles* this more than obvious reality is obfuscated by manipulating the readers' sensibilities and making us *see* the following:

– our traveling characters are in danger of losing their lives or their freedom;
– Rafala and Xarife are *sincere* Christians;
– the Moriscos burn the village, destroy what they can, attack the church, commit sacrilege;
– Moriscos and *Turks* celebrate all of this with great joy, shouting, music, "*lelilíes*";

[19] Miguel de Cervantes, *La Galatea*, ed. Juan Bautista Avalle-Arce, Madrid, 1987, book II, p. 171.

– the *Turks* sack the village;
– the Moriscos have fallen into a trap laid by the *Turkish* corsairs, and only when they drift away do they begin to fear their future poverty and the dishonor of their wives and children;
– above all, the two anti-Morisco speeches of Xarife evoke many negative images and praise the future liberators of Spain, Philip III and the Duke of Lerma.

Each of these points deserves to be nuanced. Many critics have taken Rafala seriously when she tells the women pilgrims that "you have come as tame and simple sheep to the slaughterhouse" and that her father "intends nothing other than to be your executioner." We should take into consideration, however, the infinite hatred and shame that Rafala shows and admits that she feels towards her father, such that what she says about him is suspect at the very least. What's more, the idea is absurd and by no means corresponds to practices on the part of corsairs and their Morisco accomplices, who sought captives and not dead people—which of course did not prevent deaths from occurring as a result of resistance and fighting.

The Christianity of Rafala and her uncle is not in doubt, even though the angry fanaticism of Xarife in particular is perhaps not the best way to venerate what he calls "the true truth of Christ." What should be questioned is the almost endemic use of the notion of *sincerity* on the part of critics and historians. This can indeed be a descriptive term to indicate whether a Morisco really believes and practices Christianity, a thorny problem since, as Pedro de Valencia puts it, "Muhammad didn't want martyrs" and "his religion invented a diabolical machine" in the form of *taqiyya*.[20] Yet the word *sincere* is never solely descriptive since it is also evaluative: as we know, sincerity is *good* and insincerity is *bad*. Besides, in practice, in the case of the Moriscos only sincere Christians are spoken about, never sincere Muslims. To expose the absurdity of this we could invert the terms and say that, with the exception of the two *renegades* (Rafala and Xarife), all of the Moriscos in this village are *sincere* Muslims.

[20] Pedro de Valencia, *Tratado acerca de los moriscos de España* [1606], ed. Joaquín Gil Sanjuán, Málaga, 1997, pp. 72, 77. *Taqiyya* refers to practicing Christianity outwardly in words and deeds while inwardly holding fast to the principles of Islam.

If the Moriscos of the *Persiles* are destructive, violent and sacrilegious, as critics are fond of pointing out, one should recall that what they destroy is *their own*, the village that they are abandoning forever, and they have no intention of leaving their property intact. Their violence is minimal: although they or the corsairs go armed to the church, the narrative only tells us about stones, bullets and arrows shot by the Christians from inside the church, and there is no mention of deaths or injuries. The attackers set fire "to the doors of the church, *not in order to try to enter it*, but to do whatever damage they could," so that the destructive intent is very limited, and later on we are told that the church did not burn, "not because of a miracle but because the doors were of iron and *little fire was put to them.*" In any event, there's no reason for us to be shocked by the attempt to burn the church and knock down a cross: as Cervantes and his contemporaries were well aware, such affronts towards Christian symbols were a matter of course in all Mudejar and Morisco uprisings, and it's not hard to explain their motives.

All of this commotion occurs in an aggressively *festive* atmosphere. The Moriscos, "wearing their best and richest jewelry," receive the *Turks* "*with great shouting* and tumult, to the sound of many flutes and other instruments that were *warlike yet joyful.*" At dawn the ships "went out to sea, crying joyous *lilíes*" (i.e., *lelilíes*, the *shahāda*, the profession of Muslim faith). The text makes it clear that the violence and destruction is a direct expression of euphoria and not of premeditated malice: the sentence about the jewelry and the musical instruments ends by saying that fire was set to the houses and the church doors. The narrator tells all of this as though it were a savage, almost orgiastic rite.

Who are these *Turks*, and what role do they play in this episode? The narrator says that the Moriscos, "loudly shouting the name of Muhammad, gave themselves over to the Turks, peaceful thieves and public offenders. From the edge of the water they began to sense the poverty that their migration subjected them to and the *dishonour they were bringing on their wives and children.*" And further on we're told that "the ships, laden with their *prey* [*presa*], went out to sea." As is well-known, the vast majority of Algerian corsairs were former Europeans, former Christians. Of the 35 "galley corsairs [. . .] in Algiers in 1581" named by pseudo-Haedo, for example, only 10 were *Turks by birth*. The others were *Turks by profession*, i.e. renegades, among whom there were no fewer than 12 Italians of diverse origin, and there were even two Spaniards.[21] We can assume that most of

[21] Pseudo-Haedo, part I, ch. 22.

the *Turks* in this episode aren't Turks. The narrator leads us to understand that they have come not only to rescue the Moriscos but also, with the Moriscos' blessing, to sack the village. But if the Moriscos are carrying with them all of their portable belongings and have set fire to their homes, little is left to steal; hence the characterization of the *Turks* as "peaceful thieves and public offenders" is more than gratuitous in the context of this episode, and it of course conceals the main reason why they've come. Cervantes' post-Tridentine narrator proves to be very unreliable here, and together with the two Christian Moriscos is responsible for the episode's ideological distortions that create a smoke screen for the readers.

Moreover, how does this narrator, so loath to acknowledge the subjectivity of the cultural *other*,[22] know what the newly embarked Moriscos feel and perceive? In what "dishonor" are the Moriscos placing their wives and children during their voyage or in Barbary? Why do they fear poverty? From what is known about Muslim corsairs it is very unlikely that these deliverers would abuse the wives and children of their fellow-Muslims, the Moriscos. Our slandering narrator says that the Moriscos "gave themselves over" and that the ships were laden with their "prey," thus insinuating, in agreement with Rafala, that all of this is a malicious trap, yet in fact there are no deceivers or deceived. Thanks to the narrator and his two Morisco accomplices, the victims of deception are instead the readers of the *Persiles*.

Most absurd of all is Xarife's longing for the future expulsion of the Moriscos *while* they voluntarily go into exile: apparently unsatisfied with their fleeing illegally, he would prefer them to be legally expelled! He devotes much of his second harangue to the supposed demographic threat posed by the Moriscos (a widespread concern in treatises and documents of this period, largely regarded as unfounded in modern studies), fearing an exorbitant increase in the number of Moriscos in Spain while his fellow villagers are leaving Spain *en masse* and thus depopulating his own land. In his impassioned apostrophe to the future Philip III he declaims:

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[22] I concur with José Manuel Martín Morán in his observations about the narrator of the *Persiles*: "When we get to ethnocentric space, difficulties arise as to the narrator's 'vision' [...]. The difficulty of 'seeing' the other results in the annulment of the story's Morisco voices. The only two we hear are those of Rafala and the *xadraque*, two Moriscos converted to Catholicism, who have renounced their ethnic-religious identity; the author only manages to see the internal alterity of ethnocentric identity through the eyes of the renegade, already entirely contaminated by Old Christian ideology." José Manuel Martín Morán, "Identidad y alteridad en *Persiles y Sigismunda*," in Alicia Villar Lecumberri ed., *Peregrinamente peregrinos. Actas del V Congreso Internacional de la Asociación de Cervantistas*, Lisbon, 2004, vol. 1, p. 566.

"Enable and facilitate this *necessary transmigration* with your councils, and let these seas be filled with your galleys, loaded down with the useless weight of the descendants of Hagar. Let the briars, brambles and other brush hindering Christian fertility and abundance be flung against the opposite shores!" In the meantime, in full view of this descendant of Hagar ashamed of his ancestry, the corsair ships set sail filled with fugitive Moriscos who are illegally abandoning their homeland.

In my view this episode does not revolve around the question as to whether the expulsion is justified. The voluntary exile of Valencian Moriscos confronts us with a disturbing reality lacking in questions, let alone answers. In fact, the previous chapter that narrates the amusing story of the false captives in Algiers has already opened up a Mediterranean space beyond the Spanish coasts, and the present chapter maintains this space with the arrival of corsairs and the exodus of Moriscos: all norms and perspectives are altered as we move into a region of multiple codes and more anarchic impulses. The text situates us more in an ambience of exile than of expulsion.

Xarife's prophecy (as he remembers his grandfather telling it) regarding the future expulsion of the Moriscos, so different from the authentic Morisco prophecies that have come down to us, makes this episode cover the entire period in which the Moriscos were Moriscos in the kingdom of Valencia, more or less 1526–1611: the action of the *Persiles* places itself approximately in 1559, the grandfather's prophecy hearkens back to a much earlier time, and Cervantes obviously wrote the episode after the prophecy was *fulfilled*. The Morisco Xarife will have to wait a half century, if he can live that long, to find out that the edict of expulsion prophesied by his grandfather astrologer will in all probability expel him to North Africa along with his niece Rafala (if she doesn't marry an Old Christian, of course), just as he stipulates in his apostrophe to Philip III: "Come now, oh fortunate youth and prudent king, and carry out the brave new decree of banishment, without giving in to the fear that this land may become deserted and without people or the doubt that the baptized ought not to be expelled" (III,11,554).

As a character, Xarife comes to life solely in order to deliver his harangue: unlike Ricote, for instance, he has no character traits apart from this speech advocating the expulsion. Through him Cervantes complies with the imperative of aligning his text with official policy towards the Moriscos at the same time as he undermines it, endowing the speech with exaggerated gestures, unsustainable arguments, *non sequitur* sequences, worn out metaphors and empty resonances typical of anti-Morisco discourse, all in the

form of a prophecy and an apostrophe to the future Philip III, urging him to carry out the expulsion. Márquez Villanueva's analysis exposes the emptiness of Xarife's speech from beginning to end.[23] Xarife is a sickly nobody who exudes hatred, resentment and shame towards his own people, and this too detracts from his credibility. He dialogues with no one, and hence his two-part diatribe is unconnected to the other characters. What's more, he allies himself with the priest and the scribe, figures who during this period habitually appeared in Morisco villages and were often, as Romero Muñoz points out, agents of the Inquisition (III,11,558n).

Since the question of the expulsion and its justification is nowhere seriously raised, the focus of the episode is displaced towards self-exile as a result of incompatibilities and oppression within a historical process that shows little sign of reversibility. There is nothing neutral in the Cervantine passages on the Moriscos. The anti-Morisco arguments channeled through dogs and Moriscos are deliberately weak and absurd, and in each case the argumentative void obliges readers to locate the centre of gravity in other unsettling aspects of the *Morisco question*.[24] Cervantes the artist shows himself in no way indifferent or dispassionate in these passages. To postulate, as Félix Martínez Bonati does, that there are two possible positions, *pro* and *contra*, and that "Cervantes' works are the positive concretization of a superior form of indifference regarding these alternatives" is simply to adopt a neo-Kantian fantasy that splits Cervantes the "man" from Cervantes the artist and assumes that the artist neutralizes and distances worldly concerns for our "serene reflection about a moral dilemma." The fallacy would be obvious if we tried to contemplate with equanimity paintings such as Goya's *The shootings of the third of May* or Picasso's *Guernica*; the Morisco theme is no less volatile in Cervantes' hands. The neo-Kantian approach allows Martínez Bonati to deny the powerful emotional force of the story of Ricote and Ana Félix in *Don Quixote* and to conclude that, in the case of Ricote, "the lack of verisimilitude deprives this character of pathos" and that Ana Félix is even less deserving

[23] "El morisco Ricote . . .", pp. 285–95.

[24] Francisco Márquez Villanueva's essay "El morisco Ricote . . ." remains the principal reference for understanding the anti-Morisco discourses in Cervantes' works. See also Steven Hutchinson, "Arbitrating the national *oikos*," *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 2.1 (2001), pp. 69–80; and Hutchinson, "Los apologistas de la expulsión de los moriscos frente a Ricote y Ana Félix," in vol. 7 de *Cervantes y su mundo*, ed. Carmen Hsu, Kassel, 2010, pp. 125–46.

of our sympathies—all of this, it is claimed, having been configured by Cervantes so that we can reflect dispassionately about a moral dilemma.[25]

The episodes about Moriscos in Cervantes' works do not form a closed set but rather belong to a wider group of Cervantine texts about the Mediterranean and relations between Christians and Muslims. Similarly, the Morisco *problem* is not exclusively an internal affair of state because it connects with a much wider religious, political and cultural problematic, and it is clear that Cervantes saw it in this more comprehensive setting. Ricote's family emigrates to Algiers, and two quick trips between the Spanish and Barbary coasts involve an array of characters: among them, the king of Algiers, the viceroy of Barcelona, don Antonio Moreno, a renegade, *Turks*, a harem, etc. Braudel writes: "The sea does not act as a barrier between the two great continental masses of Spain and North Africa but rather as a river which unites more than it divides, making a single world of North and South, a 'bi-continent'."[26] As we've seen, the Morisco village of the *Persiles* finds life on *this* shore intolerable, and opts for emigrating to the other, despite all the risks and uncertainties that this might involve. The Valencian Moriscos are heirs to the age-old notion of the *'idwatayn*[27]—the two shores of the long arm of sea—and their frequent communication with the Maghreb reinforces this bicontinental consciousness. These Moriscos blur the religio-political frontier, and it is entirely understandable that they should decide to cross over from the "island of al-Andalus" to the *'idwa*, the African shore, where Cervantes himself spent years in captivity and where the nuclei of many of his stories can be found. This episode is by no means confined within the borders of Spain, and its interpretation cannot be adequately contained within a Hispano-Christian perspective.

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[25] Félix Martínez Bonati, *El «Quijote» y la poética de la novela*, Alcalá de Henares, 1995, passages cited from pp. 29, 32 and again 32, respectively. See Martínez Bonati, pp. 34–38, for an encomiastic presentation of Kant's aesthetic ideas and a highly questionable interpretation of the aesthetic function of emotions for Aristotle.

[26] Braudel, vol. 1, p. 117.

[27] See the articles by Eva Lapiedra, "*Al-'Idwatayn*: espacios y fronteras entre al-Andalus y el Magreb," in Ana L. Contreras and Fernando Ramos, *Relaciones hispano-marroquíes: una vecindad en construcción*, Madrid, 2005, pp. 19–34, and María Jesús Rubiera Mata, "Las dos orillas cervantinas. A modo de introducción con *addenda,*" in María Jesús Rubiera Mata ed., *Cervantes entre las dos orillas*, Alicante, 2006, pp. 9–20.

CHAPTER TEN

BLINDNESS AND ANTI-SEMITISM IN LOPE'S *EL NIÑO INOCENTE DE LA GUARDIA*

Barbara F. Weissberger

In *El niño inocente de La Guardia* Lope de Vega dramatizes Spain's most famous case of Jewish ritual murder, an event that allegedly occurred around 1488. Written between 1594 and 1597, the play is based on two sixteenth-century accounts, one in Spanish prose and the other in Latin verse.[1] According to these highly fictionalized narratives, a group of Jews and Conversos living in and around the town of La Guardia conspired to abduct and crucify a poor Christian child. After kidnapping their victim in nearby Toledo, they took him to a cave in La Guardia where they proceeded to torture and murder him in a detailed reenactment of Christ's Passion. The mock-deicide formed part of a larger plot to destroy Christendom by means of a magic potion to be concocted from the boy's heart and a consecrated host. The first of the group to be detained for the heinous crime was the Converso Benito García, when he was discovered to be in possession of a host that radiated an unearthly light. Under torture, he incriminated ten others who were also imprisoned by the Inquisition and underwent a year of interrogation and torture. The trial was indirectly overseen by Tomás de Torquemada, the first Inquisitor General. On November 16, 1491, two Jews and six Conversos found guilty of involvement in the conspiracy were relaxed to the royal *corregidor* to be burned at the stake in Ávila's inaugural auto-da-fé.[2] Many modern scholars, notably

[1] Luis de Cañigral Cortés ("*El niño inocente de La Guardia* de Lope de Vega: Análisis de sus fuentes," *Revista de Literatura*, Vol. 56.112 [1994], pp. 349–70) has convincingly argued that Lope's primary sources were a Latin poem by Jerónimo Ramírez, titled *De Raptu Innocentis Martyris Guardiensis libri sex*, Madrid, 1592, and Juan de Marieta's 1594 summary of the Jeronymite friar Rodrigo de Yepes' prose *Historia de la muerte y glorioso martyrio del sancto Innocente, que llaman de La Guardia*, Madrid, 1583. Using this fact and a textual reference, Cañigral Cortés was also able to establish an earlier date for the play's composition than the one previously assumed. He dates it between 1594 and 1597; that is, at the very end of Philip II's reign and around a decade earlier than the traditional dating.

[2] The only extant historical documents about the La Guardia case are the sentence of Benito García and the Inquisitional trial transcript of the young Jew Yucé Franco, both

Henry Kamen,[3] believe that these events were instrumental in the decision taken by the Catholic Monarchs only four months later—strongly influenced by Torquemada—to expel all unconverted Jews from Spain.

Given that the play is one of Lope's lesser-known works, an overview of its modern critical reception is in order. The disturbing nature of the events and their graphic representation on stage make it understandable that most critics have been concerned primarily with either indicting or at least partially exonerating Lope for the play's anti-Semitism. Partly in reaction to the claims of Menéndez Pelayo and other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars that the ritual murder did actually occur, Edward Glaser insisted in 1955 that the play was virulent anti-Semitic propaganda.[4] He considers it a reinscription of theological arguments against the Jews that circulated throughout Europe in the medieval and early modern period. Daniel Heiple and Elisa Aragone Terni follow suit. Heiple uses biographical material to support his case, pointing to Lope's status as a *familiar* of the Inquisition and his likely participation in a spectacular auto-da-fé held in Madrid in 1632, when a number of Portuguese *conversos* were executed for beating a statue of Christ, as well as to a poem he wrote condemning the Judaizers and likening their crime to the crucifixion. Aragone Terni claims that Lope in fact wrote *El niño inocente* out of gratitude for being named an Inquisitional *familiar*.[5]

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dating from 1490–91, although several other trial transcripts are reputed to have been available in the late sixteenth century. The documents were published by Fidel Fita in "La verdad sobre el martirio del Santo Niño de La Guardia" *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Vol. 11, (1887), pp. 7–133. After a protracted trial, during which interrogation and torture shaped increasingly incriminating testimony from Yucé Franco, the Inquisition condemned him and four other Jews—three of them deceased—along with Benito García and six other Conversos to be burned at the stake. The Jewish quarter or *aljama* of Ávila was the largest in Castile, housing nearly half of the city's population of 7,000. In addition, it was the site of Torquemada's own Monasterio de Santo Tomás, which he began to build in 1483, and where the accused were imprisoned.

[3] Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*, New Haven and London, 1997. One of the earliest scholars to have assigned Torquemada a central role in the trial and its aftermath was Henry Charles Lea, in *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain*, Philadelphia, 1890, p. 460.

[4] Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Estudios sobre el teatro de Lope de V*ega, ed. A. Bonilla y San Martín, Vol. II, Madrid, 1921, pp. 64–79; Edward Glaser, "Lope de Vegas's *El Niño inocente de La Guardia*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Vol. 32 (1955), pp. 140–53.

[5] Daniel Heiple, "Political Posturing on the Jewish Question by Lope de Vega and Faria e Sousa," *Hispanic Review*, Vol. 62 (1994), pp. 217–34; Elisa Aragone Terni, *Studio sulle "Comedias de santos" di Lope de Vega*, Messina-Firenze, 1971, p. 14. The play was first printed in 1616 in the Octava Parte of Lope's *comedias*. The title begins as follows: *Comedia famosa del Niño inocente de la Guardia, EL FENIX DE ESPAÑA LOPE DE VEGA CARPIO, Familiar del Santo Oficio.*

Other critics find more ambiguity in Lope's presentation of Jews and Conversos in *El niño inocente*. Alexander Samson finds a tension in the play between the dominant concept of Jewish impurity and infidelity and a humanist equation of nobility and virtue, and attributes it to Lope's "own desire on the one hand to cut across social hierarchies and on the other to shore up the dominant order to which he wished to belong."[6] María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, Albert Sicroff, and Catherine Swietlicki maintain that the ambiguities in the play make it difficult to view the work merely as a vilification of Jews and Conversos and an impassioned defense of the Holy Office of the Inquisition. They all point to the poignant lament for the hardships caused by the expulsion that Lope places in the mouths of two Jewish characters in Act One.[7] Anthony J. Farrell, most recent editor of the play, also believes that the play is multidimensional and that those parts in which Lope gives voice to the minority viewpoint reveal his sensitivity as a dramatist and his ability to identify with all of the characters.[8]

María del Carmen Artigas and Andrew Herskovitz take the "liberal" view furthest. Artigas believes *El niño inocente* is strongly pro-Jewish, and Herskovitz argues for a sympathetic view of the Jews in the *comedia* as a whole. He posits that Lope and other Spanish early modern playwrights demonstrate their sympathy with the Jews and Conversos through the deliberate use of irony and techniques like metatheater.[9] I shall return to the issue of metatheater and its use in Lope's play at a later point.

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[6] Alexander Samson, "Anti-Semitism, Class, and Lope de Vega's *El niño inocente de La Guardia*," *Hispanic Research Journal*, Vol. 3.2 (2002), pp. 107–22, quotation at 120.

[7] María Rosa Lida de Malkiel, "Lope de Vega y los judíos," *Bulletin Hispanique*, Vol. 75 (1973), pp. 73–113; Albert Sicroff, "Notas equívocas en dos dramatizaciones de Lope del problema judaico: *El niño inocente de La Guardia* y *La Hermosa Ester*," in A.M. Gordon and E. Rugg eds., *Actas del Sexto Congreso Internacional de Hispanistas*, Toronto, 1980, pp. 701–05; Catherine Swietlicki, "Lope's Dialogic Imagination: Writing Other Voices of 'Monolithic' Spain, *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, Vol. 40 (1988), pp. 205–26. Although she deals with *El niño inocente* only in passing, Elaine Canning's recent study argues that in general Lope's religious drama problematizes seventeenth-century concepts such as anti-Semitism and blood-based honor. The very fact that in 1610, the year of the decree limiting the return of Portuguese Conversos to Spain, and the year after the edict of expulsion of the Moriscos, Lope chose to dramatize an Old Testament story in his *La reina Ester*, in which he exalts the characters of Esther and Mordecai, suggests that he was not a staunch supporter of such measures. See Elaine Canning, *Lope de Vega's "Comedias de tema religioso": Re-Creations and Re-Presentations*, London, 2004, pp. 42–3.

[8] Anthony Farrell, ed. *El niño inocente de La Guardia,* London, 1985, p. 23. All subsequent quotations from the play are from this edition and will be indicated by page numbers in parentheses in my text.

[9] María del Carmen Artigas, "Una nueva lectura de *El niño inocente de La Guardia* de Lope," *Maguén: Boletín mensual de la Asociación Israelita de Venezuela*, Vol. 85 (1992), pp. 32–43; Andrew Herskovitz, *The Positive Image of the Jew in the "comedia*," New York, 2005.

The two views outlined above have made this decidedly minor work in Lope's *corpus* something of a touchstone in the broader debate over the playwright's position vis-à-vis the ideology of the Church and Crown in seventeenth century Spain, which crystallized around the influential work of José Antonio Maravall and José María Díez Borque.[10] Those scholars who uphold Lope's anti-Semitism implicitly support the Maravallian view of Lope as ideologue for an absolutist monarchy and repressive Church, while those who dwell on the play's ambiguities or sympathy for the Jewish and Converso characters view Lope as a more thoughtful exponent, even critic, of his society's attitudes toward its minorities. In recent years the latter view has prevailed. It was eloquently stated in 2000 in Melveena McKendrick's study of the representation of kingship in Lope's corpus. She insists on Lope's ability "to exploit the capacity of drama, with its dialectic and its multiple perspectives, for dealing 'innocently' with received values and ideologies, so that it could be made to support and subvert simultaneously."[11]

This essay argues for just such a dialectic in *El niño inocente de La Guardia* through Lope's use of the motif of blindness. It is, I think, indisputable that Lope's presentation of Jews and Conversos engaged in the "supreme anti-Semitic calumny" (Farrell 23) would have stirred base popular prejudices. This is especially true in the graphic third act, given over entirely to the scourging and crucifixion of the child Juanico. A closer look at the metaphorical use of blindness in the play's dialogue, characterization, and technique, however, suggests greater ambivalence on the playwright's part.

I am not the first to notice the presence of blindness in *El niño inocente*. In the introduction to his excellent 1985 edition, Anthony Farrell observed that Lope organizes the imagery of the play around light, its sources, attributes, and effects. Not surprisingly, due to the Christological analogies of Juanico's martyrdom, the most prominent image is that of the sun.[12] The sun is repeatedly used to compare the young Juanico to Jesus. For example, after his scourging, Benito remarks, "Parece que sale luz/de su persona desnuda" (125) [Light seems to emanate from his naked body]. And

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[10] J.A. Maravall, *Teatro y literatura en la sociedad barroca*, Madrid, 1972; José María Díez Borque, *Sociología de la comedia española en el siglo XVII*, Madrid, 1976.

[11] Melveena McKendrick, *Playing the King: Lope de Vega and the Limits of Conformity*, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2000, quotation at p. 11.

[12] On the prominence of sun imagery in the religious poetry of the sixteenth-century, see Louise Salstad, "Sun Motifs in Sixteenth-century Spanish Religious Poetry," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, Vol. 55 (1978), pp. 211–30. For blindness imagery in Lope's own *Rimas sacras*, see Hugo Lezcano Tosca, "El tema de la ceguera en la literatura religiosa de Lope," *Revista de literatura*, Vol. 66.132 (2004), pp. 389–407.

in the drama's final apotheosic scene, as Juanico ascends into heaven, he is compared to the phoenix: "aue de tu olorosa llama/sales otra vez al Sol" (141) [bird, from your fragrant flame, you arise again to the Sun] Light imagery is also applied to the Virgin Mary, the Catholic faith, and by extension, Queen Isabella I of Castile, as the faith's staunch defender. Farrell mentions blindness and darkness only as a minor contrastive image associated almost exclusively with the murderous Jewish and New Christian co-conspirators and the venue for their crime, a dark cave above La Guardia.

It is significant that in Lope's sources—based on the first narrative account of the murder in 1544—blindness afflicts only the martyred boy's mother, Juana Guindera. Blind from birth, she is cured at the moment that her son ascends to heaven after his crucifixion. She thus becomes the privileged recipient of the saintly boy's first miracle.[13] In Lope's dramatization of the murder and its prelude, however, blindness is everywhere. It plays a central role not only in the play's dialogue and characterization, but also, as we shall see, in its elaborate dramatic technique.

It will be remembered that the blindness of the Jews carries heavy theological weight as a Christian trope dating back to the New Testament, as well as patristic authors like Augustine and Tertullian. Paul's 2 Corinthians 4 is the *locus classicus*: "In their case the God of this world has blinded the minds of the unbelievers, to keep them from seeing the light of the Gospel of the Glory of Christ. . . ." The blindness image is eminently supercessionary; it refers to the Jews' stubborn clinging to the Law of Moses and rejection of the New Testament. It circulated in medieval Castile since at least the thirteenth century, in the Marian tales of Gonzalo de Berceo, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. The virulently anti-Semitic *Fortalitium Fidei* by Friar Alonso de Espina (c. 1464), and ultimate source for some key elements in Lope's play, deploys the idea in Book Three, titled *De bello judaeorum*. There Espina likens the Jews' attack on the eponymous fortress of Christian faith to a blind man enjoining battle against a sighted man ("ac si cecus in campum exiret ut pugnaret cum vidente").[14]

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[13] In my article, "Motherhood and Ritual Murder in Medieval Spain and England," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 39.1 [2009], pp. 7–30, I argue that in the very first narrative of the La Guardia ritual murder, written by Damián de Vegas in 1544, the mother's blindness conjoins anti-Semitism and misogyny. Along with her seeming indifference to her kidnapped son's fate, her blindness associates her with the Jews and Conversos and the deceitful Christian women who interact with them. See Damián de Vegas, "Memoria del Santo Niño de La Guardia," ed. Fidel Fita, *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, XI (1887): pp. 135–47.

[14] Folio 77 of *De bello iudaeorum*, cited in Alysa Meyuhas Ginio, '*De bello iudaeorum*': *Fray Alonso de Espina y su 'Fortalitium fidei'*, in *Fontes iudaeorum regni castellae*, Vol. 8,

In religious painting and sculpture from the tenth century on, the Jews' blindness is most frequently represented as the allegorical figure Synagoga. Most often depicted with her eyes blindfolded, the painted or sculpted Synagoga stands in vivid contrast or opposition to the sighted Ecclesia. The two figures often appear in portrayals of the Passion; Ecclesia located on the right side of the crucified Christ, holding a chalice up to collect Christ's blood, and Synagoga on the left, turning away in defeat and humiliation.[15]

Lope introduces the longstanding negative association of Jewishness with blindness early in Act I, in a long speech assigned to Santo Domingo, who appears to Queen Isabella in a dream. The founder of the mendicant order, traditionally considered the first inquisitor, exhorts the Queen to expel the Jews from Spain, "porque la limpieza quede/libre de su ciega infamia." (55) [so that purity may be freed from their blind infamy]. In Act Two, the character of the *familiar* uses the term in reference to Francisco, the Jew who has brought Cristóbal to La Guardia, claiming to be his stepfather: "¡Plega a Dios que esté sano/de su antigua ceguedad!" (113) [May it please God that he is cured of his ancient blindness!]. The negative use of the metaphor culminates in the climactic Act III, taken up entirely with the preparations for and graphic description of Juanico's *imitatio Christi*. There Quintanar, the Jew who has been assigned the role of Herodes in the metadramatic reenactment of the Passion, uses the term to characterize himself as sadistic Christ-killer: "¡Ya estoy de ira y de coraje ciego!" (117) [Now I am blinded by ire and wrath!].

Jews and Conversos are not the only ones, however, who are afflicted with blindness in *El niño inocente de La Guardia*. In fact, a momentary

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Salamanca, 1998, p. 13. A related concept is the Jews' flawed understanding of the Bible; instead of reading the Old Testament typologically, as a prefiguration of the New, Jews insist on reading it literally. See Lisa Lampert, *Gender and Jewish Difference from Paul to Shakespeare*, Philadelphia, 2004, pp. 37–47. Lope's play provides a striking example of the literalness of the Jews' reading practice. In Act Three, when a drawn curtain reveals Juanico's bruised naked body after his beating by the conspirators, Benito exclaims: "Parece que sale luz/ de su desnuda persona!" The Jew Quintanar explains the miraculous illumination as simply the reflection of a candle burning in the cave that "como da/en sus carnes, vuelve acá/de sus rayos los reflejos." (125). This is not to say that because Benito sees the miraculous light emanating from the child's body, he is exonerated from the crime. In fact, a central theme of the play is the murderous complicity between Conversos and Jews, the very claim made in the Edict of Expulsion.

15 The classic work on the subject is Wolfgang S. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature*, New York, 1970. See also the more theoretical treatment by Moshe Barasch: *Blindness: The History of a Mental Image in Western Thought*, New York and London, 2001.

blinding of Christians sets the divine plan for the martyrdom of the child Juanico in action. Having brought Juanico to the Assumption Day festivities in Toledo, his parents are distracted by the brilliant sunlight that suddenly illuminates the stained glass windows of the cathedral. His father Pasamontes exclaims: "Ya el sol la viene buscando/y en los vidros dando está" (90) [The sun is now searching for her and is striking the windows] and his wife Juana responds: "¡Qué bien con el sol parecen vedrieras y colores!" (90) [How beautiful the colors in the stained glass windows look with the sun on them!]. In the next moment Juana realizes Juanico has disappeared, and she implores the image of the Virgen del Sagrario to help her find him. Juana reminds Mary of the pain she felt when she and Joseph lost the boy Jesus during their visit to Jerusalem for the Passover celebration, and of her pleasure at subsequently finding her son in the temple, listening to the wise men (Luke 2: 39–52): "que pues el dolor sentí, sienta el placer, pues por veros/mi querido Juan perdí" (96) [since I felt the pain, may I feel the pleasure, for it was so as to see you that I lost my dear Juan].

Lope then strengthens the association of Juana's sorrow with the Virgin Mary's through the minor character of a blind woman. Identified only as *una ciega*, she comes on stage calling out a list of prayers to various saints that she can recite, presumably in exchange for alms. At Juana's urgent request, she sings about the boy Jesus lost and found in Jerusalem.[16] The *ciega* character also foreshadows the eventual blindness of Juana herself.[17] Unlike his sources, Lope does not make Juana's blindness congenital. Instead, he attributes it to inconsolable crying over her lost son, in order to increase the pathos of her loss.

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[16] The cathedral choir heard singing offstage lets the parents and the audience know that in this case the lost boy will not be found: "Quien pierde, tenga consuelo/que el bien que del se destierra . . . se viene a hallar en el cielo" [He who loses, be consoled, for the good of one who is exiled . . . is found again in heaven] (99). The unusual precocity of the boy Juanico, who actively seeks his own martyrdom and understands it as an *imitatio Christi*, is an important element in the play's construction of his saintliness.

[17] The presence of the blind, and especially the blind beggar, on the streets of towns and cities of Europe in the Middle Ages also elicited ambivalent feelings. These handicapped individuals provided opportunities to exercise charity, but they also aroused suspicion of deceit and fraud. In medieval drama, as Edward Wheatley has shown, the blind, or those who feigned blindness, were often bound together with Jews through a similar "metaphorics of marginalization." Although both groups officially enjoyed royal protection, they were increasingly perceived as threats to the social order, and this perception led to their regulation, containment, and exclusion. Edward Wheatley, " 'Blind' Jews and Blind Christians: Metaphorics of Marginalization in Medieval Europe," *Exemplaria*, Vol. 14.2 (2002), pp. 351–82.

The Mariological dimension of Juana's suffering is ratified by none other than Queen Isabella. When a doctor tells the Queen that Juana has gone blind from her tears, she responds with words that tie together blindness and light: "Si era a su amor la [luz] más cierta/las de los ojos cerró/por no ver más luz sin él" (107) [If he was the most certain light of her love, she turned off the lights of her eyes so as no longer see the light without him]. Isabella herself was the subject of many panegyrics comparing her to the Virgin Mary, especially after she gave birth to the long-awaited male heir, Prince Juan, upon whom she doted, and who died prematurely.[18] Through the synecdochal chain of Juana-Virgin Mary-*ciega*-Isabella Lope makes maternal sacrifice for the sake of Christianity central to the play.

This brings me to the most surprising use of the blindness motif in *El niño inocente*. The same doctor who tells Isabella about Juana's blindness previously informed her that Ferdinand, off battling the Portuguese claimants to the Castilian throne, "adolece de los ojos" (106) [suffers from an eye illness].[19] Isabella responds in courtly fashion, asking "Eclipsada está la lumbre del sol?" (106) [Is the light of the sun eclipsed?]. On one level this darkened sun metaphor is courtly, evoking the wifely devotion that is another staple of Isabella's hagiographical construction by her court poets and chroniclers, one that continues to be invoked to this day.[20] But it also echoes the conversation in Act One between Isabella and Ferdinand that takes place after her dream vision of St. Dominic. Ferdinand enters the room, eager to inform Isabella that they have just received a Papal Bull authorizing the establishment of the new Inquisition. Isabella, however, does not share his enthusiasm for this major triumph in the battle against heresy. She insists on the need to expel the Jews from their two kingdoms. Ferdinand resists; for him, it seems, the Inquisition is sufficient to

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[18] Royal secretary Fernando del Pulgar wrote the following upon the birth of Juan on June 30, 1478: "Clearly we see that we have been given a special gift by God, for at the end of such a long wait, He has desired to give him to us. The Queen has paid to this kingdom the debt of male succession that she owed it. As for me, I believe that he is to be the most fortunate prince in the world. . . . He who heard the prayers for his birth, may He hear those for his long life" (Fernando del Pulgar, *Letras, Glosa a las Coplas de Mingo Revulgo*, ed. J. Domínguez Bordona, Madrid, 1929, pp. 53–54; my translation).

[19] This is one of the many anachronisms in the play, as in its sources. The war of succession to the throne of Castile was waged from 1475 to 1479, a decade before the La Guardia events.

[20] See my *Isabel Rules: Constructing Queenship, Wielding Power,* Minneapolis, 2004, pp. 112–24, for some fifteenth-century examples. Cf. Peggy Liss, in her biography, *Isabel the Queen: Life and Times*, Philadelphia, 1992, p. 116: "Castile's queen would manage to maintain a semblance of traditional wifely role and to be seen working as an equal with her husband in public life."

solve the religious problems they face. But Isabella argues that the Jews are impediments to their goal of religious orthodoxy for their united kingdoms. Comparing faith to the sun, she states:

> La fe es sol, mas suele el sol
> Cubrirse, y no se ofender.
> Estos la cubren aquí,
> Y aunque ella por sí es quien es,
> No esté cubierta después
> que se mira en vos y en mí. (58)
>
> [Faith is a sun, but the sun is accustomed to covering itself without being offended. These people cover her here, and even though she is who she is, may she not be covered after she has seen herself in you and me.]

The contrast the Queen makes between the allegorical Faith covering, or blindfolding, herself—possibly a reference to the eclipse that occurred during Christ's Passion—and her being covered by the despised Jews plays in interesting ways on the image of the blindfolded Synagoga. It also contributes to Isabella's characterization as the more zealous of the two monarchs in her pursuit of religious purity and homogeneity. Her speech implies that the presence of the Jews weakens Faith, something she and Ferdinand cannot allow. Isabella's later use of the covered sun image to refer to Ferdinand's eye problems conflates her diligence as a defender of the faith and her wifely concern, both mainstays of Isabelline panegyrics since the fifteenth century. In a final courtly conceit, she orders the doctor to go to care for Ferdinand, "que en ojos que he de vivir/no es razón que sufra enojos" (106) [for it is not right that the eyes that I live for should suffer]. Farrell considers the mention of Ferdinand's eye problems another way of underscoring the importance of Juana's blindness, since it implies a parallel between the King's sacrifice for Castilian hegemony and hers for Catholicism (28). But it seems also to refer back to Ferdinand's earlier blindness to the threat the Jews represent to Christian Spain, and might even allude to his own Converso ancestry.[21]

As we have seen, there is a constant slippage between the positive and negative connotations of blindness throughout *El niño inocente de La Guardia*. Blindness circulates throughout society from top to bottom, from the

[21] It is not the only time Lope presents Ferdinand as less orthodox than myth would have it. In *El mejor mozo de España,* for example, a play about Isabella's choice of Ferdinand as a marriage partner, Ferdinand dallies with a Morisca whose mother is a witch. See the eiditon by David Gitlitz, *The Best Boy in Spain/El mejor mozo de España*, Tempe, Arizona, 1999, pp. 40–54.

King down to the Jews and poor beggar women, from staunch Christians to heretic crypto-Jews. This conflation of the symbolism of Ecclesia and Synagoga, or rather the contamination of the former by the latter, that is, of the sighted by the blind, blurs the division between the evil Jews and Conversos, and the good Christians. The conflation can be looked at in two ways. On the one hand it serves as a warning against the insidious threat posed to "real" Christians by the Conversos in their midst. On the other, it suggests that moral disorder has pervaded humankind since the Fall and implicitly criticizes the scapegoating of religious others.[22]

Art historian Moshe Barasch's survey of the image of blindness from antiquity through the Renaissance provides a context for understanding the slippage of connotation. As Barasch demonstrates, the metaphorical content of blindness remained ambiguous throughout the period in question. Regarding the blind Synagoga, Barasch shows that especially in the early Middle Ages, she maintained a measure of queenlike dignity even in her defeat by Ecclesia. In this she reflected the double attitude of Christians toward the Old Testament as at once the foundation of the New Testament and a Law that had been superseded by the coming of the Redeemer, an event the Jews refused to accept. Furthermore, since antiquity blindness had been not only a sign of moral disorder or punishment for sinfulness, but also a mark of inner vision, prophecy, or creativity, as exemplified by the figures of Tiresias and Homer.[23]

The inherent ambiguity of the blindness metaphor is signified by an object that figures prominently in most artistic representations of Synagoga: the blindfold. As Barasch reminds us, the covering of the eyes or of a ritual object carried two different but not unrelated connotations in antiquity and the Middle Ages. It was a means of obscuring vision and representing blindness, but it also conveyed a sense of the sacred. The precise location of the covering object—a veil, a curtain, or something similar—could change in the imagination or reality. But the very fact that the covering could be lifted made it an expression of revelation as well as of deficient understanding. Veronica's veil expresses the dual meaning of the blindfold well, as its use in Act Three of *El niño inocente* demonstrates. There one of the Jews wipes the scourged child's face with a cloth,

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[22] See Mary Jane Kelley, "Blindness as Physical and Moral Disorder in the Works of Gonzalo de Berceo," *Hispanic Review*, Vol. 73 (2005), pp. 131–55, for an analysis of the negative connotations in Berceo's works, where blindness is symbolic of the Christian condition outside of Paradise.

[23] Op. cit., pp. 36–43.

on which three images of his face appear. The allegorical figure Entendimiento exclaims about the image's open eyes: "¡Qué bien quedaron los ojos/para ser de amor vendados!" [How well the eyes look, for being blindfolded by love!] and Razón responds: "Como están del Sol bañados,/no les dio la venda enojos" (136) [Since they are bathed by the Sun, the blindfold did them no damage].

As Barasch affirms, "[T]he very act of raising the veil or opening the curtain becomes a highly charged, ritual performance."[24] This holds obvious relevance for the theatrical experience, especially for religious drama, and, as we shall see, for *El niño inocente* in particular.

Indeed, an important element of the play's dramatic technique is its abundant use of *apariencias* or discoveries.[25] The term refers to the opening of the curtain that covers the *vestuario*, or discovery space, at the back of the proscenium to reveal a character or tableau. Ruano de la Haza assigns the *apariencia*'s break in the prevailing verisimilitude of *comedia* staging a dual function: to amaze and instruct the audience through a sudden, surprising discovery (449). Since the discovery is particularly apt for introducing miracles or acts of violence and torture which could not be represented on the stage, it is frequently used in *comedias de santos* and other religious drama.[26] Anita Stoll and Thomas Case have discussed the metadramatic potential of the *apariencia* to create multiple levels of "fictional" reality that distance the audience from the dramatic illusion in saint's plays.[27]

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[24] Ibid., p. 86.

[25] For an overview of *apariencias* and their use in the early modern theater, see J.M. Ruano de la Haza and John J. Allen, *Los teatros comerciales del siglo XVII y La escenificación de la comedia*, Madrid, 1994, pp. 449–60.

[26] Lope himself compared the *apariencia* to a church retable (cited in Ruano de la Haza and Allen, p. 457).

[27] This effect is especially strong in the case of a play-within-a-play or role-playing within-a-role, two of the metadramatic categories identified in Richard Hornby's classic work, *Drama, Metadrama, and Perception*. Lewisburg, Pa., 1980. The other two categories he proposes are the ceremony within the play and the real-life reference within the play. The *apariencias* in *El niño inocente* that I discuss below combine all four categories. Anita Stoll, "Staging, Metadrama, and religion in Lope's *Los locos por el cielo*," *Neophilologus*, Vol. 78 (1994), pp. 233–41; and Thomas Case, "Metatheater and World View in Lope's *El divino africano*," *Bulletin of the Comediantes*, Vol. 42, (1990), pp. 129–42, among other *comedia* scholars, disagree with Hornby's view that the use of metadrama is indicative of a deeply cynical worldview whereby the play-within-the-play, by distancing the audience from the fiction of the drama, highlights the illusoriness of theater, which in turn functions as a metaphor for the illusoriness of life itself. Rather, they see its use as affirming an ultimate eschatological reality that unifies life and truth (Case, p. 140). As will be seen, my own view of metadrama in *El niño inocente* falls somewhere in between.

There are no fewer than five *apariencias* in *El niño inocente*; not surprising if we categorize it as a *comedia de santo*, an accurate classification even if the saint it celebrates was, and remains, uncanonized. I have already mentioned two of these discoveries, the first involving St. Dominic and the second the Virgen del Sagrario. The three other *apariencias* in *El niño inocente* are more directly related to the ritual murder of Juanico. Part of the legend of the Santo Niño from its earliest elaboration is a bizarre failed attempt that was said to have occurred in France, a kind of dress rehearsal for the Spanish crime. There the Jewish conspirators tried to obtain the heart of a Christian boy, needed for their magic potion, by bribing an impoverished noble couple to kill one of their many children. But the wily French wife concocts her own plot to trick the Jews. It involves staging her son's murder and handing over a pig's heart to the gullible Jews, claiming that it is the child's. Lope chooses to stage this fake murder as an *apariencia*, as the stage directions in Act One specify: "Corran una cortina, y enseñen un niño, la cabeza en una mesa, como fuera, y un plato al cabo con un corazón" (81) [Let a curtain be drawn and the child's head be shown somehow on a table, and next to it a plate holding a heart].[28] The scene corresponds to Hornby's metadramatic category of an inset play within a play, with the actress who plays the French mother carrying out the role of murderer of her own son. The scene creates a strong metadramatic distance that in my opinion shapes the audience's response to the climactic two *apariencias* of the play, both related to the brutal martyrdom of Juanico in Act Three.

Midway through Act Three, a curtain is drawn to reveal the child, naked and bruised, tied to the cross he has been forced to carry up the hill to the cave where he will be martyred. He is accompanied by two angels, who encourage him to be strong in death. The final *apariencia*, and the most complex from a metadramatic perspective, occurs in the play's final scene, when the curtain is drawn to reveal the crucified Juanico, surrounded by his tormentors. This final tableau conjoins two different metadramatic categories: that of a play-within-a-play and that of a real-life reference, insofar as it symbolically represents the actual crucifixion of Christ, but does so as a deadly form of playacting, a kind of perverse Passion play. Lope carefully prepares the sensationalism and the metadramatic nature

[28] Ruano de la Haza and Allen reproduce an English woodcut depicting a similar tableau, with holes cut in a table through which the "decapitated" actor would poke his head (op. cit., p. 534, fig. 58).

of the scene from the beginning of the Act, by having the conspirators discuss in detail the staging, props, and action of the Passion about to be reenacted and eagerly distribute among themselves the roles of Herod, Pilate, and other biblical personages involved in Christ's condemnation and death.

I suggest that dramatically the staged reality of the scourging and Crucifixion tableau in Act Three cannot be separated from the mock-infanticide in Act One, explicitly presented as a theatrical trick. The unveiling of the murdered French child reveals nothing to the Jewish characters who witness it; they are in effect blind to the dramatic illusion created by the Christian mother to save her child. The audience, on the other hand, knows full well how to read the scene. A similar imperfect witnessing occurs in Act Three, as Benito, Quintanar, and the other Jews and Conversos are blind to the roles they themselves play in the story of salvation, roles that the audience fully appreciates.

Despite the relative "sightedness" of the corral audience compared to the "blindness" of the Jewish and Converso would-be (in France) and actual (in Spain) murderers, the multilayered metadrama draws audience attention to a gap between what is perceived and what is really there. In the juxtaposition of the two *apariencias*—the clearly fake playacting in the first *apariencia* and the real ritual displayed in the latter two—the drawing back of the curtain to reveal a "truth" previously hidden carries the same semiotic ambiguity as the blindfold/veil symbol. It signifies simultaneously the blindness and evil of the Jews and the revelation of the truth of Christ's redemptive sacrifice. In Act One, the Jews and crypto-Jews see what they want to see, which is in reality a fiction, playacting. But what do the Christians in the *corral* see when they witness the scourging and martyrdom of Juanico? I maintain that it is not at all clear, like Juanico's sainthood, which on one level *El niño inocente* seems strongly to promote.

The presence of a third fictional level reinforces the lack of clarity in the audience's relationship to the ostensible miracle they are witnessing. Standing between the reality of Juanico's crucifixion in Act Three and the reality of the audience are the two allegorical characters Entendimiento and Razón. These onstage witnesses to the ritual murder are introduced halfway into the Act, appearing between the two *apariencias* of Juanico. They engage in a theological dialogue about the soul's capacity for reason. At first Entendimiento does not recognize the "resplandesciente y gloriosa" [resplendent and glorious] lady who stands beside him. When Razón identifies herself as representing Juanico's reasoning powers,

Entendimiento is skeptical, stating that Juanico is too young to possess the ability to reason that brings full understanding. Razón explains that God has prematurely granted the child all of the soul's faculties, so that:

> goce tal virtud y palma . . .
> y de muerte semejante
> entienda la estimación . . .
> como si en sufrir sus daños
> tuviera treinta y tres años. (132–33)
>
> [he may enjoy virtue and glory . . . and understand the meaning of such a death . . . as if he were suffering its injuries at the age of thirty-three.]

In this brief natural philosophy and theology lesson, Entendimiento can be seen as a blindfolded Synagoga figure because of her confusion. She cannot clearly understand God's omnipotence until Reason enlightens her, metaphorically removing her blindfold with "la luz de tu llama viva" (131) [the light of your living flame]. That the murder of a young child is God's will, just as Jesus's death was, is thus brought home to an audience who must accept this harsh truth.

Entendimiento and Razón are alone on stage in the scene described above, but in their second appearance in the final scene of Act Three, where they act as witnesses to Juanico's death, they mingle with the Jews and Conversos who go about their horrible task of extracting Juanico's heart. But the comments of Entendimiento and Razón on the child martyr's final moments go unheard by the evil persons who share the stage with them. In this way Lope creates an intermediate reality between that of the audience and that of the ritual/play-within-the play that is the crucifixion, further deepening the metadramatic distance introduced in Act One. The playwright highlights the significance of Entendimiento and Razón by literally giving them the last word: they are the only characters remaining on stage when Juanico is raised up to Heaven "con un artificio y una nube" (141) [with a device and a cloud] at the play's end.

Social anthropologists have argued that the study of saints should be grounded in the social history of perception, not in so-called objective factors such as social origins and career patterns. As Peter Burke states in "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint": "Sanctity more perhaps than anything else in social life, is in the eye of the beholder."[29] As we have

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[29] Peter Burke, "How to be a Counter-Reformation Saint," Chapter Five of *The Historical Anthropology of Early Modern Italy: Essays on Perception and Communication*, Cambridge, England, 1987, pp. 48–59; at p. 53, quoting Michael Gilsenan.

seen in the case of *El niño inocente de La Guardia*, what the eye of the dramatic beholder of sainthood perceives is not always clear.

The ambiguities surrounding the motif of blindness and the use of *apariencias* to create metatheatrical distance in the play may also reflect the confused official stance towards Conversos and Jews at the end of the sixteenth century. The inflexibility toward Jews and Judaizers that characterizes Queen Isabella in the first Act of *El niño inocente* is in fact far from the views demonstrated by her great-grandson Philip II, especially towards the end of his life. Philip's attitude towards both Conversos and Jews was inconsistent at best. Striking examples of royal hesitation about current exclusionary policies affecting Conversos and Jews occurred around the time Lope composed *El niño inocente de La Guardia* (1594–97). In 1589, for example, the King named a Converso to fill a post in the cathedral of Sigüenza and refused to back down when confronted with purity of blood statutes that prohibited such appointments. In 1590 he gave his support to the preparation of a study critical of those same statutes by the noted theologian Agustín Salucio, and in 1597 he appointed a committee to find ways of reforming the statutes.[30] In that same year he named as bishop of Córdoba a Converso priest he had rejected for a Church post in Toledo twenty years earlier. On the other hand, in 1590 Philip ordered the expulsion of the Jews living in Milan, a tiny community that he had previously tolerated.[31]

The extent to which this conflictive historical context shaped *El niño inocente de La Guardia* is difficult to ascertain. As a *familiar* of the Inquisition, the playwright surely would have kept abreast of the crisis that Salucio's attack on the *estatutos* provoked in the Holy Office. From a literary perspective, however, the blurring of the lines between blindness and vision, between illusion and reality, in *El niño inocente* infuses the meaning of Juanico's sainthood and the evil of the Jews and Conversos who create it with more than a little ambiguity. That ambiguity, I would argue, is as much as anything responsible for what Menéndez y Pelayo long ago referred to as the "emoción de inquietud y desasosiego"[32] [feelings of disquiet and anxiety] that the play inspires.

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[30] When Salucio's *Discurso sobre los estatutos de limpieza de sangre* appeared in 1599, it received support from several grandees and prelates. It also precipitated what Kamen calls a *crise de conscience* in the Inquisition, when the *Suprema* overruled the Inquisitor General and banned the publication (Kamen, pp. 247–48).

[31] Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, New Haven and London, 1997, pp. 310–11.

[32] Op. cit., p. 78.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF THE CONVERSO PROBLEM: ON THE PORTUGUESE RESTAURAÇAO OF 1640*

Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano**

The Conversos: A Political Issue between Portugal and the Spanish King

My goal in these pages is to analyze the impact of the Converso problem on the growing rift between the Spanish Monarchy and a significant part of Portuguese society, starting around 1600. I will explore the extent to which the Converso issue contributed to the build-up of tension in these political relations. The question I ultimately wish to discuss is how anti-Judaism was exploited in Portugal to encourage protests against the royal government in the first decades of the seventeenth century, serving ultimately as one of the principle justifications of the rebellion of 1640, which led to the Restoration and the independence of Portugal. This topic not only forces us to reflect on a decisive moment in the history of Portugal and that of Spain, but also raises the question of the nature of the Converso problem itself.

The Restoration of 1640 has traditionally been explained as the liberation of the Portuguese nation from submission to a foreign king and a foreign power. This nationalist interpretation has been the most frequent right up to the present day, which is why such emphasis has been placed on those actions and political discourses that were nationalist in character. Today other interpretations are also available. A few years ago we learned that in addition to the social unrest caused by the increased fiscal pressure from the Crown and the serious economic deterioration, a deep constitutional crisis was taking place which seriously affected relations between the monarch and the territory belonging to the Portuguese Crown. According to Portuguese historian António Manuel Espanha, what took place in 1640 was a "constitutional restoration," a return to the constitutional order that

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** Translated by William Childers.

had been agreed upon between Philip II and representatives of Portugal at the assembly (*Cortes*) convened in 1581 in the town of Tomar, on the occasion of the union of the two crowns. That order, which Philip II maintained until his death in 1598, guaranteed the Portuguese full political autonomy in the governing of Portugal and all that affected it. Things changed, however, during the reigns of Philip III (1598–1621) and Philip IV (1621–1640), whose governments tried to turn Portugal into just another province of the monarchy, and as such to govern it from their courts. This may have been done in the name of rationality and political expediency, but the Portuguese viewed it as a grave threat to their autonomy, an external interference that infringed upon the pact of Tomar, provoking an intense response of rejection and dissatisfaction.[1]

The question of the Portuguese New Christians as a political problem was one of the issues over which the royal court and the political representatives of Portugal clashed with greatest animosity, significantly undermining the complex balance of power created between the two parties. The pact of Tomar was also implicated in this thorny subject, for the anti-Converso legislation active in Portugal had been sanctioned in 1581 by Philip II. From 1600 on, various initiatives for reforming this legislation emerged from the Court. These attempted reforms reviewed the legal restrictions imposed on the New Christians, even as they questioned the harsh policy of inquisitorial repression that was exercised against them.

Both the content of these reforms and the procedures by which they were implemented were badly received in Portugal. Neither Philip III nor Philip IV showed the slightest respect for the approved system of government. The reform policy, as much in initial discussions as in its preparation and eventual execution, was put into place through the extralegal method of informal governing bodies (*juntas*) convened by the royal favorite, which came into conflict with the institutional framework agreed upon at the 1581 Tomar *Cortes*. Thus, as far as the handling of the Converso problem was concerned, Portuguese councils, tribunals, and ministers were superseded by the extralegal approach of the *juntas*.[2]

The matter became quite serious. Portuguese society was extremely sensitive to the New Christian issue, and the slight toward their autonomy and institutions added insult to injury. This essay will examine two

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[1] António Manuel Hespanha, "As faces de uma Revolução. A Restauração e a sua Época," *Revista Penélope. Fazer e Desfazer a História*, nº 9/10, 1993, pp. 7–16.

[2] Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, *La revolución de 1640 en Portugal, sus fundamentos sociales y sus caracteres nacionales. El Consejo de Portugal: 1580–1640*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1988. Doctoral thesis.

moments of particular tension and belligerence; one occurring between 1598 and 1607, at the beginning of Philip III's reign, and the other between 1621 and 1632, during that of Philip IV. In each of these decades, the royal government proactively initiated an ambitious program of reforms in which the Converso question was one of the principal topics. For this political project it was determined to follow the quickest and most efficient route. At the royal Court it was felt that the constitutional order agreed upon at the 1581 assembly would be an obstacle to undertaking these projects, so the extraordinary path of political action mentioned above was followed. The Portuguese interpreted this way of proceeding as an attack on the autonomy of their customs, laws, and privileges, and they denounced it as a betrayal of the pact agreed to with Philip II, which that monarch had sworn to observe in the symbolic location of Tomar, during the negotiations over the union of the two crowns.[3]

The Clergy and the Inquisitors

It could be said that the Converso question was a fundamental cause of the rupture in the balance of power between the Spanish crown and the kingdom of Portugal. Moreover, Portuguese clerics, particularly inquisitors, played a pivotal role in this eventual falling out. As defenders of the faith they were especially sensitive to the Converso issue. Moreover, they demonstrated a great capacity for mobilizing crowds and providing solid arguments to justify popular protests. These arguments were simple and convincing: given that the Jewish heresy spreading among the New Christians was the greatest danger facing Portugal, and the Crown did nothing to prevent it, the representatives of the kingdom were obligated to come to the defence of the nation; if the Spanish king, who exercised patronage over the Church and Catholic religion in Portugal, and was thus duty-bound to come to their defence, failed to live up to his commitments, the Inquisition, and the Church in general, would take this responsibility into their own hands.

The "polycentric" political order in Portugal consisted of a "constellation of powers," with a strong presence at the royal Court, within which two institutions stood out: the Church and the Inquisition. Both institutions constituted extensive administrations, well-rooted in the territory,

[3] I have dealt with this at length in J. Ignacio Pulido, *Os Judeus e a Inquisição no tempo dos Filipes*, Lisboa, 2007.

with a clear internal hierarchy and effective discipline. The deep bonds between them magnified their impact even more. All told, their influence over society was immense, and if it came to it, they could confront the ruler himself.

From its foundation in 1536, the Portuguese Inquisition was characterized by internal discipline and marked unity of action, coordinated by the presence on Portuguese soil of three tribunals: Lisbon, Coimbra, and Évora. At first, the Inquisition was under the king's strict control, favored by its hierarchical organization and centralized government, headed by the figure of the Inquisitor General and the General Council of the Inquisition, a small committee of members that directed the institution from above. The fact that the first Inquisitors General belonged to the royal family guaranteed their political subordination to the Crown. This was the case for the nearly forty years during which don Henrique, João II's brother, was Inquisitor General (1539–1578), and again during the years when Archduke Albert, Philip II's nephew, was at the head of the institution (1586–1593).

This phase ended in the late sixteenth century with the death of Philip II, which had negative consequences for the relations between Portugal and the Spanish Crown. During Philip III's reign (1598–1621) and that of Philip IV (1621–1640), the choice of Inquisitor General was one of the most problematic and complex political issues, crucial for dealing with the reform of policies toward Portuguese New Christians. In the new period that began with Philip III, the Inquisitor General of Portugal ceased to be a member of the royal family, as had generally been the case during the sixteenth century, which meant the beginning of the Inquisition's gradual emancipation from royal control. Thus, it began to acquire an increasing level of autonomy from the beginning of the seventeenth century on, while maintaining the strong unity, discipline, and hierarchy that had characterized it previously.[4]

The Inquisition showed it possessed the power to oppose the royal government, as it did in the years when the cagey Pedro de Castilho (1604–1615) was Inquisitor General, and even more during the tenure in that office of Fernão Martins Mascarenhas (1616–1628), which were years of open belligerence. On both occasions, one of the main causes of friction between the King and the Inquisition was the policy towards Portuguese

[4] Joaquim Romero Magalhaes, "La Inquisición portuguesa: intento de periodización," *Revista de la Inquisición*, 2, pp. 71–93, Madrid, 1992.

New Christians and the role the Holy Office should have in the matter. In decisions relating to overall policy toward New Christians, the Inquisitor General and the General Counsel of the Inquisition were excluded from taking part, and, what is more, attempts were made to limit the persecution of New Christians. Nonetheless, those attempts on the part of various royal governments were met by the Inquisition with violent waves of persecution against Conversos, especially harsh under Mascarenhas' mandate, accompanied by campaigns of social agitation that succeeded in extending and intensifying Portuguese unrest.[5]

For its part, the Portuguese Church also participated in this strategy, successfully taking on a share in the leadership. It could rely on a well-organized, strictly hierarchical clergy, and its social and territorial rootedness was significantly greater even than that of the Inquisition. On the other hand, this broader extension impeded the development of such tight internal discipline. It was also harder to control from above. The governing body of the Church within Portuguese territory was formed by a group of ten bishops and three archbishops, under whose authority were some three hundred parishes spread out across the entire country. To this we must add the regular clergy, with some two hundred convents and monasteries belonging to the different religious orders, well-organized and with a strong influence upon Portuguese society.[6]

From the late sixteenth century onwards the bishops' and archbishops' power had been increasing; since they were directly responsible for instituting the program of Catholic reform approved at the Council of Trent, they had to be invested with greater political control over the clergy and the faithful in their respective dioceses. In this context we can see why, in 1592, Archduke Alberto, Inquisitor General and Viceroy of Portugal, would request that the bishops elaborate a catechism for evangelizing New Christians, as a means of eradicating heresy. The Converso problem, whether approached with missionary zeal or inquisitorial repression, necessarily demanded the participation of the bishops, as Archduke Alberto was well aware when he served as Inquisitor General.[7]

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[5] José Veiga Torres, "Uma longa guerra social: os ritmos da repressão inquisitorial em Portugal," *Revista de história económica e social*, Lisboa, Sá da Costa, nº 1, 1978, pp. 56–68.

[6] João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Restauração: 1640–1668*, Oporto, 1989, vol. I, Chapter 2, "A significação sociológica da igreja em Portugal nas vésperas de 1640," p. 37.

[7] Biblioteca de Ajuda de Lisboa, Cod. 51-VIII-8 (nº 85) Carta do Cardeal para o Bispo de Leiria sobre o rémedio que se há de dar a extirpação do judaísmo em Portugal (Lisboa, 28/7/1592).

In accordance with ecclesiastical governance, decision-making required a vote of the membership, which meant that in order to take any action as a group regarding the issues that affected them, the prelates had to arrive at a consensus and coordinate among themselves. They possessed no standing body to provide for such coordination, however, and although the high clergy could form a national council or, on a smaller scale, convene national ecclesiastical meetings, to do so they required the authorization of the King and the Pope. This rule explains why such meetings have been so infrequent in the history of Portugal. As we will see, one of those exceptional instances occurred in 1629, due precisely to the Converso problem, a clear indication of the importance of the issue for the Church.[8]

Another path that allowed the ecclesiastical hierarchy to arrive at consensus and undertake shared political action was through interpersonal relationships. These relations, established in an open, dynamic framework, are often hidden from historians' eyes. In them, nevertheless, the keys to understanding the political movement unleashed by the Converso problem may be found. Written documents attest to the existence of such relations. One set of such documents is the epistolary exchange among the prelates organizing the unprecedented journey made by a commission of bishops from Portugal to the Court, where they presented their protests for concessions being made in favor of the New Christians.[9] Much more numerous are the letters exchanged among the bishops before the national ecclesiastical meeting held in 1629 at Tomar for the purpose of organizing their strategy of opposition to the government.[10]

The ability of the Church and the Inquisition to act in a coordinated and complementary way intensified the effect of their political opposition. As a result of this joint action, the two institutions working together were ultimately able to prevail over both Philip III and Philip IV where the Conversos were concerned, forcing them to reverse the policies they had introduced at the beginning of their respective reigns. This fact, in my opinion, takes on an important meaning, for it demonstrates the outstanding role the Church and the Inquisition played in the creation of the political, social, and ideological conditions that paved the way for the Portuguese rebellion of 1640.[11]

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[8] J. Ignacio Pulido, *Os Judeus e a Inquisição no tempo dos Filipes*, pp. 160–164.

[9] José Marques, "Filipe III de Espanha (II de Portugal) e a Inquisição Portuguesa face ao projecto do 3º perdão geral para os cristãos-novos portugueses," *Revista da Facultade de Letras, História*, 2ª série, vol. X, Oporto (1993) pp. 177–203.

[10] J. Ignacio Pulido, *Os Judeus e a Inquisição no tempo dos Filipes*, p. 162.

[11] *Ibídem*, pp. 135–172, "Judeos, clérigos e antijudaísmo na Revolução de 1640."

Relations between members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the inquisitors were quite close. This was especially true at the highest institutional levels. Successive Inquisitors General were bishops of a Portuguese diocese, which facilitated the possibilities of coordination and joint action by both institutions. These were Alexandre de Bragança (Archbishop of Braga), Pedro de Castilho (Bishop of Leiria), Fernão Martins Macarnhas (Bishop of Algarbe) and Francisco de Castro (Bishop of Guarda), who occupied the position of Inquisitor General successively from 1602 to 1653. Not a few clerics switched back and forth between inquisitorial tribunals and episcopal sees in the course of their careers. Recent trends in political history, including prosopography and social networks analysis, which make use of such categories as patronage, clientelism, and political factions, can contribute to the study of relations between ministers of the Church and the Inquisition. I consider these relations to be crucial for explaining the high level of cooperation and coordination between both institutions in the development of their political strategy. The ultimate success of their opposition to the Crown depended on this factor, although it was not the only one.

The Political Function of Anti-Judaism in Opposing the Spanish Crown

Inquisitors and clergy worked hand-in-hand in organizing anti-Jewish mobilizations, which gained in frequency and intensity in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The ideological element of anti-Judaism served as a unifying force between the two institutions and helped overcome occasional disagreements. It gave them a common objective and a political discourse under whose sign they could unite. And it set them to work in conjunction; in time, this led to the acquisition of valuable practical experience and strong cohesiveness as a political force.

At the same time, anti-Judaism also served as a unifying factor between these ministers and the Portuguese society. In Portugal, as in the rest of Europe, there was widespread aversion to Judaism, which in the Portuguese case was directed against New Christians of Jewish ancestry. This hostility to Judaism and the Jews sprang from a deeply-rooted tradition, which found expression in a variety of ideas, feelings, beliefs, and attitudes shared among the people. This explains the enormous social echo and widespread support for inquisitors and clerics when they utilized anti-Jewish arguments to justify their protests against royal policies. The Church and Inquisition skilfully tapped into and activated this anti-Jewish, anti-Converso feeling, unleashing a broad social movement they were able to channel in the direction they chose. Thus they succeeded in

generating in Portugal a powerful opposition, capable at certain times and places of bursting forth in violent action.

The Conversos were not, however, the only reason for unrest in Portuguese society. For the majority, rural peasants and urban workers alike, the most important problem was economic decline, exacerbated by suffocating fiscal pressure. The decade of the 1630s is known to have been one of extreme duress, especially for those of humble circumstances, with a chain of negative factors arrayed against them: bad harvests, famine, high prices, and increasing taxation. The clergy and Inquisition had their own cause for complaint, above all due to the interference of the government in both institutions. Resentment towards New Christians, accused of Judaizing, served to encourage their protests, and the clergy as much as the inquisitors vented their anger without restraint. From the pulpits of churches and from the inquisitorial scaffolds of autos-da-fé, the entire society was alerted to the Jewish danger. Undoubtedly, in that moment of extreme crisis, New Christians took on the role of scapegoats. Historian João Francisco Marques, who has analyzed the propaganda circulating in Portugal before and after the 1640 War of Independence, explains this clearly. Faced with the severity of the economic and political crisis, it was not hard for clerics and inquisitors to redirect popular ire against the New Christians, blaming them for the evils besetting the country.[12]

Their preaching cried out against the New Christians, who were accused not only of heresy but also of hoarding the wealth of the kingdom to the detriment of the lower classes. Many spectators at the autos-da-fé found the accused wealth as hard to accept as the heresy of which they were accused. During times of desperate lack of sustenance, commonplace as they were in societies of the Ancien Régime, collective rage was directed against rich businessmen, many of whom were New Christians, so much so in fact that at the time the terms "businessman" and "man of the Jewish nation" came to be considered synonymous.[13]

New Christians were also charged with innumerable sacrileges against the Faith. It was said that this was one of the main reasons for God's wrath

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[12] "Perante o agravamento do estado do reino não era difícil atrair a ira popular sobre presumíveis culpados. Sendo, como em devido assinalamos, uma realidade manifiesta, entre o povo em geral, a aversão aos judeus, havia pregadores que, sob a égide do Santo Oficio, ao justificar a acção deste Tribunal, aproveitavam o ensejo para lhes atribuir em particular, as calamidades passadas e presentes," João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina*, p. 139.

[13] António Borges Coelho, *Política, Dinheiro e Fé*, Lisboa, 2001.

against the Portuguese, who He punished for allowing the Jewish heretics to reside among them.[14] This is one of the most frequently repeated arguments in sermons and treatises circulating during those years. And this repetition penetrated successfully into society, which came to feel itself impure from an anthropological point of view, stained by the contaminating presence of these people, who were branded as social refuse. The language of the clerics and inquisitors abounded in this general sentiment and frequently utilized the terms *pure* and *impure* to refer to the blood of one group and the other. Society, understood at that time anthropomorphically, was depicted as a social body containing defective and infected parts—the New Christians—that threatened to contaminate the rest. The mere existence of those groups implied, therefore, a risk for all. To alleviate the fear of divine punishment and of general contagion, the society had to submit to constant acts of purification, rituals of social catharsis that incorporated the public annihilation of those foreign, contaminating elements.[15] The *autos-da-fé* were rituals of collective exorcism.

Two treatises written by Antonio Carvalho de Parada, a cleric who took on an active role in that turbulent time, are exemplary in this regard. He was archpriest of the Cathedral of Lisbon and held various high-profile ecclesiastical offices. In 1626 he was in Madrid, serving as representative of the Portuguese Church before the royal Court. Today he is most remembered for a well-known treatise in which he justified the Portuguese rebellion, printed in Lisbon in 1643 under the title *Portuguese Justification of Their Action to Liberate their Kingdom from Obedience to Castile*.[16] Years earlier, however, in 1626, he had also signed his name to a virulent anti-Jewish tract, *Discurso politico* (Political Discourse) intended as a denunciation of the moderate policy toward New Christians that the government was considering at that time.[17] I cite both works here as an expression of the political meaning anti-Judaism had acquired for Portuguese society as a whole in the periods preceding and following the 1640 rebellion.

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[14] This phenomenon has been studied in depth by João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina*, Oporto, 1986, p. 171. By the same author, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Restauração (1640–1668). A revolta e a Mentalidade*, Oporto, 1989.

[15] Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger. An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, London, 1966.

[16] Antonio Carvalho de Parada, *Justificaçam dos Portugueses sobre a acçam de libertarem seu Reyno da obediéncia de Castella*, Lisboa, 1643. Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Res. 2551 P.

[17] Antonio Carvalho de Parada, *Discurso político sobre os inconvenientes que resultão da gente hebrea de Portugal, e remedios que se lhe devem aplicar*, Madrid, 25/4/1626, 32 fols. Biblioteca de Ajuda (Lisboa), Cód. Ms. 51-1-71.

Antonio Carvalho's *Discurso politico* (*Political Discourse*) is a manifesto that clearly expresses the Portuguese Church and Inquisition's opposition to any policy favorable towards New Christians. The author signed it in Madrid in 1626, at the outset of Philip IV's reign, when the government was studying the issue. In his treatise, the author denounced the situation in Portugal and demanded that the king implement a harsh policy. In justifying the demands of the Portuguese Church, Carvalho Parada summarized the arguments that had accumulated against the New Christians over several decades. The situation, he said, called for maximum alert, considering how widely Judaism had spread in Portugal, a country that had once been chosen by God for disseminating Catholicism in the world, but that now found itself in a deplorable state. Nowhere else in Christendom was the Jewish faith so firmly implanted, to such an extreme that beyond its borders the terms "Portuguese" and "Jew" were considered synonymous. The mixing of blood had become widespread, 'contaminating' the entire society, including the nobility and the clergy. Restoring the nation's lost honour was of the utmost urgency.[18]

In his *Political Discourse* Carvalho Parada reminded the king of his obligation to protect his lands from such contamination, to guard their honour. Otherwise, the preservation of the kingdom was at risk, as past history demonstrated. God had always rewarded monarchs who confronted Judaism and had punished those who were lenient. Thus the miseries suffered by the kingdom of Portugal at this time were a direct consequence of the permissive policy toward New Christians, defined outright by Carvalho as authentic Jews. At the same time, the author insisted on the accusation so often launched against them: that they were taking over the wealth of the kingdom. They were the richest in Portugal, he repeated, the absolute masters of all commerce, and their extreme avarice meant they became richer every day, and thus more arrogant and brazen. No one could resist the influence of their wealth, and even the most powerful, nobles, prelates, and princes, had fallen prey to its seduction. In reality, he concluded, these men were not true Portuguese, but foreigners, and among the worst, for they hated Christians and therefore did them as much harm as they could.[19]

Seventeen years later, in 1643, after the split between Portugal and Spain, Carvalho Parada published in Lisbon a treatise in which he blamed the

[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.

king for the rebellion of the Portuguese. Philip IV had refused to listen to the reiterated protests of the political representatives of the kingdom and had failed to live up to his obligation to protect his subjects, despite the alarming situation. On the contrary, the king had been seduced by Jewish wealth, favoring the Jews and becoming their accomplice; Jewish money had ended up deciding his policies. Carvalho Parada labeled Philip IV "king of the Jews," accusing him of elaborating plans for introducing Judaism into Portugal, creating Jewish quarters in the cities and synagogues throughout his dominions. Such brazenness scandalized his loyal subjects, damaged their reputations and had even brought the wrath of God upon them, for the long, profound crisis they suffered was divine punishment for their ruler's sin. The Portuguese, Carvalho went on, had no alternative but to take up arms against their king. They did so with full legitimacy to save their country from danger and defend the faith and honour of Portugal, seriously threatened by the king's policy and government.[20]

The direction this cleric took in his argumentation from 1626 to 1643 was followed by much of Portuguese society. The anti-Jewish ideas used to express aversion to New Christians became established as a principal justification for supporting the rebellion of 1640. Inquisitors and clerics like Carvalho Parada were the ones who developed and disseminated that political discourse, with extraordinary success.

Public Space and Public Opinion

It is impossible to understand how these clerics and inquisitors were able to achieve such enormous success in their efforts without taking into account the use they made of the Portuguese public sphere. What they could not accomplish through ordinary political means—their influence on the royal council and within the organ of administration—they attained by more modern means, such as control over the public sphere and the creation thereby of a public opinion favorable to their positions.[21]

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[20] Antonio Carvalho de Parada, *Justificaçam dos Portugueses sobre a acçam de libertarem seu Reyno da obediencia de Castella*, chapters VIII and IX.

[21] On the concept of public sphere and public opinion in the eighteenth century, see Jürgen Habermas, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichan Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1969. José Antonio Maravall, *La cultura del Barroco*, Madrid, 1983 (3rd ed.) explained that already in the seventeenth-century Iberian world there existed a *public space* in which *public opinion* was shaped and disseminated.

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the Inquisition and the clergy occupied public space in an intensive and prolonged fashion for a double purpose: on the one hand, they wanted to give voice to their own political protests; and on the other, they wished to mobilize society in support of their objectives. The Inquisition, as much as the clergy, demonstrated an impressive capacity for undertaking this strategy successfully, greater than any other social sector or institution. The autos-da-fé regularly staged by the Inquisition were a fundamental resource, though by no means the only one, whereby this institution was able to successfully influence the public sphere and temporarily take it over. During these public rituals, which constituted full-fledged inquisitorial festivals, a complete system of mass communication was unleashed that reached broad segments of society, by means of which an intricate set of ideas and emotions were transmitted. Each auto-da-fé provoked a powerful social echo, maintained though time and space, until the time came for the next one.[22]

In a fundamental Counterreformation pedagogical objective, the post-Tridentine Church, having committed its energies to the reform of Catholicism, concentrated on establishing a presence in the public sphere in order to disseminate its religious program.[23] Thus, for example, religious festivals, whether of a regular or an exceptional character, were calculated to have a public impact on a massive scale, for which reason not only the churches themselves, but also public squares and streets were filled with the faithful, visibly headed by the clergy. For this it was necessary to implement a varied set of visual techniques that, in combination with oral elements, ensured effective diffusion of the message. Among all these resources, sermons developed into one of the primary means of mass communication. Emilio Orozco Díaz lucidly explained how preaching constituted, in that culture, an "authentic religious spectacle," the vehicle not only of religious doctrines but also of political and ideological messages.[24]

Autos-da-fé and sermons were two basic instruments by means of which inquisitors and the clergy transmitted their messages to the public sphere,

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[22] Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, "Projection publique et projection diffuse de l'Inquisition," in Gabriel Audisio (dir.), *Inquisition et Pouvoir*, Aix-en-Provence, 2004, pp. 287–307; "La Fe desatada en devoción: proyección pública de la Inquisición en Granada," in *Revista Torre de los Lujanes*, nº 40 (1999), pp. 95–108.

[23] José Antonio Maravall, *La Cultura del Barroco*. Emilio Orozco Díaz*, Introducción al Barroco*, 2 vols., Granada, 1988.

[24] Emilio Orozco Diaz, "Sobre la teatralización y comunicación de masas en el Barroco" y "Sobre la teatralización del templo y la función religiosa en el Barroco: el predicador y el comediante," in *Introducción al Barroco*, vol. I, pp. 269–295.

to promote their strategies for social mobilization, to which they gave a specific political meaning revealed in the contents of banners unfurled during inquisitorial festivities, and with even greater clarity, in the texts of sermons preached during those celebrations or in others which accompanied them. To a great extent, sermons constituted the manifesto by means of which the political motives of those mobilizations were expressed publicly.

In this respect, the close collaboration between inquisitors and clerics is documented in great detail, and one perceives how they came together to work with a single purpose, both in preparing the autos-da-fé and in the festivals that took place afterwards. The inquisitors would choose clerics who were especially famous for their sermons to preach at the autos-da-fé. Historian Joaquim Romero Magalhaes explains that, starting in 1612, the custom of printing these sermons became widespread, which then provided a rhetorical repertoire for priests in small parishes and out-of-the-way places, far from the major cities of Lisbon, Coimbra, or Évora. Such sermons, which the printing press immortalized and helped to circulate throughout the country, provided arguments and ideas to clerics, who preached regularly to their respective parishioners, which ensured their intense proliferation.[25]

More than fifty years ago Edward Glaser published an extensive study on the contents of the sermons preached in autos-da-fé in Portugal and the negative image of New Christians and Judaism projected in them.[26] In his study he examined the contents of published sermons, although he did not deal with the political and social context in which they were delivered, or their function at the time they were written. Later, João Francisco Marques, after gathering together and studying a vast set of Portuguese sermons, analyzed their ideological content and political function in the periods prior to and following the rebellion of 1640, informing us of their role in transmitting ideas and mobilizing people.[27]

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[25] Joaquim Romero Magalhaes, "La Inquisición portuguesa: intento de periodización," p. 80.

[26] Edgard Glaser, "Invitation to intolerance. A study of the Portuguese sermons preached at autos-da-fé," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, vol. XXVII, Cincinnati, 1956, pp. 327–385. Also Alfonso Cassuto, "Bibliografía dos sermões de Autos-da-Fé impresos (Descrição bibliográfica da coleccão do autor)," *Arquivo de bibliografía Portuguesa*, Coimbra, 1955, pp. 293–345.

[27] João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina*, 2 vols., Oporto, 1986. By the same author, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Restauração (1640–1668). A revolta e a Mentalidade*, Oporto, 1989.

The frequency of autos-da-fé held in Lisbon, Coimbra, and Évora increased steadily during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV, reaching its greatest intensity between 1620 and 1640, which in my opinion reflects the growing political tension between the Portuguese Inquisition and the royal government.[28] Doubtless, these ceremonies were the best resource the Inquisition had at its disposal to publicize its position on the Converso problem, ensuring moreover a powerful social impact. This explains the fact that in Évora, on the occasion of Philip III's 1619 visit to Portugal, accompanied by his principal ministers, he was received with a spectacular auto-da-fé. The event was charged with political meaning. On other occasions, the Viceroy of Portugal and the Inquisitor General sent accounts of these ceremonies to the royal court as testimony of their opinions on the Converso question.[29] Fernando Martins Mascarenhas, during his years as Inquisitor General from 1616 to 1628, intensified this policy of position-taking by means of autos-da-fé, which in consequence grew ever more frequent, more spectacular, and had an ever larger number of accused participating in them. For this Inquisitor General, the public punishment of New Christians was a highly useful instrument in his confrontation with the royal government.[30]

In this way Coimbra, Évora and especially Lisbon became principal platforms on which new states of opinion were created.[31] Surrounding these cities, moreover, was an extensive network of urban centres and smaller towns. In all of them there were various *micro-spaces*, with an important role in the formation and spread of public opinion. Ideas flowed into these spaces and from them were disseminated throughout the rest of the country. These *micro-spaces* were: interiors of churches, where people assembled to listen to the preacher's voice; public squares, where *autos-da-fé* took place; and main thoroughfares, where people thronged in processions or formed part of the public that contemplated them. On

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[28] José Veiga Torres, "Uma longa guerra social: os ritmos da repressão inquisitorial em Portugal."

[29] J. Ignacio Pulido, *Os Judeus e a Inquisição no tempo dos Filipes*, p. 93 and pp. 152–153.

[30] Ibíd. pp. 118–133.

[31] Lisbon, a principal seventeenth-century European metropolis, overshadowed all the other cities of Portugal. Towards 1620, Lisbon was one of Europe's wealthiest cities, and with 120,000 inhabitants, one of the most populous as well. Politically, it exercised representation over the rest of the cities of the kingdom. All of this converted it into a kind of showcase in which to observe the entirety of the Portuguese territory, a powerful resonating chamber amplifying models of cultural, religious, and political behavior that would later be imitated in other locales. Not without reason, Lisbon was described in that period as "a vast public square of the entire world" and "an abbreviated microcosm."

other occasions, that same urban landscape was the setting for protests and riots, in which the crowd, from being a mere spectator, became an active protagonist. On this urban stage ordinary people were transformed into a social mass and exposed to the influence of distinct currents of opinion. Undoubtedly, these circumstances influenced the direction their mobilizations would take.[32]

Three episodes that took place between 1598 and 1640 will serve to illustrate my argument regarding the church's role in mobilizing the people against both the Conversos and the Madrid government. The first of these episodes was a series of violent revolts against New Christians, which swept through the country in 1605 like a social earthquake, with its epicentre in Lisbon. The second episode refers to the scandal produced by the revelation in Coimbra, in 1624, of an alleged "Jewish conspiracy," made up of members of the university and headed by a prestigious professor of New Christian descent. The third case refers to the social disturbances produced in various places around the country in 1630, due to the theft of some communion wafers, once the rumour had spread that it was a Jewish sacrilege committed by a New Christian in Lisbon.

The 1605 Revolts

The 1605 revolts against New Christians were the foreseeable consequence of the deep climate of social unrest generated by the Inquisition and the Church in their conjoined strategy of opposition to the favorable policy toward the Converso minority. From the onset of Philip III's reign in 1598, his government moved forward with a set of initiatives that had as their goal improving the situation of Portuguese New Christians, as well as limiting the Inquisitorial repression from which they had been suffering. There was concern within the monarchy about the resistance such political reforms could provoke, so to prevent Portuguese institutions from blocking their application, an extralegal procedure was used that marginalized the system established at the Assembly of Tomar (1581). The viceroy, the Council of Portugal, the Portuguese Inquisition, and the Portuguese

[32] Maravall explained that in these urban spaces society was already constituted as a *social mass*. "The seventeenth century is a mass age, the first, without doubt, in modern history, and the Baroque is the first culture that makes use of mechanisms of mass action." *La Cultura del Barroco*, p. 223.

Church were all excluded from this decision making process, despite their repeated efforts to involve themselves in the reforms.

The response was not long in coming. The Viceroy, Cristóbal de Moura, the highest political authority in the land, resigned in 1603, and his successor did the same the following year. The reactions of the Church and the Inquisition to the measures taken by the government are quite revealing. Faced with the gravity of this institutional crisis, the bishops assumed political leadership in Portugal, setting themselves up as the representatives of the kingdom, and using all the resources at their disposal to organize opposition to the government's plans. Having confirmed that their representatives at Court were not being heard, and understanding that the usual means for influencing the king were insufficient, they sought other forms of action. The new strategy they followed, in which the Inquisition collaborated, combined social agitation with political pressure on the king.

This was the purpose of the unprecedented visit of the three archbishops of Portugal to the royal Court in 1602. The preparations and the letters sent back and forth among the three Portuguese archbishops, those of Braga, Évora, and Lisbon, make plain the strategy and purpose pursued. The promoter of this initiative was the Archbishop of Évora, Teutónio de Bragança, a relative of the Inquisitor General from 1602 to 1604, Alexandre de Bragança.[33] These prelates not only presented themselves as the heads of the Portuguese Church, but also as the natural representatives of the political community formed by the kingdom of Portugal. To demonstrate this, they brought with them the written expressions of support of the viceroy, the Inquisition, the Portuguese bishops, and some of the principal cities of the kingdom, among them Lisbon.[34] Simultaneously, they also mobilized their resources in Rome, where they found the Pope well disposed toward their position. The manner in which they expressed their advice to the king could be understood either as a warning or a threat: if he continued to make concessions to the New Christians it would be

[33] José Marques, "Filipe III de Espanha (II de Portugal) e a Inquisição Portuguesa face ao projecto do 3º perdão geral para os cristãos-novos portugueses," *Revista da Facultade de Letras, História*, 2ª série, vol. X, Oporto, 1993, pp. 177–203; también "O Arcebispo de Évora, D. Teotónio de Bragança, contra o Perdão Geral aos Cristãos-Novos Portugueses, em 1601–1602," *Congresso da História no IV Centenário do Seminário de Évora*, Évora, 1994, pp. 329–341.

[34] J. Ignacio Pulido, *Os Judeus e a Inquisição no tempo dos Filipes*, pp. 143–144.

difficult to prevent the kingdom from succumbing to movements of sedition and revolt.[35]

Even as they were organizing their trip, the archbishops activated all the resources at their disposal for agitating Portuguese society. The Inquisition came into play, erupting into the public sphere with messages of alarm in the face of the advancing heresy. All these actions displayed a heightened theatricality intended to provoke social mobilization. The climax came in 1605 with a sequence of two public acts, one in the Cathedral of Lisbon and the other in the public square known as Praça do Rossio, where the Inquisition had its headquarters. The latest political measure regarding the New Christians was made public in the Cathedral, where the authorities of the kingdom had brought together the faithful of all social conditions. They chose this dramatic setting to announce that the king had decreed a general pardon freeing all those imprisoned for Judaizing. All autos-da-fé were suspended. Following this announcement, the prisoners were released in Praça do Rossio before an infuriated crowd, who immediately attacked them.

Lisbon served as a huge mirror in which the rest of the country could see itself reflected; violent confrontations that took place there were soon repeated elsewhere. Revolts followed all over the country, leading the Crown to order investigations to clarify what had happened. The reports concluded that the disturbances had resulted from a premeditated effort to awaken the anger of the populace. These reports gave the names of some preachers as instigators and accused the inquisitors of acting with malicious intent. It was believed that ecclesiastical and inquisitorial authorities had stirred up the people's mood to provoke a loud and violent social protest against the measures taken by the king. But what most worried the Court was the fact that voices had been heard here and there among the unruly mob that harassed the New Christians in the various revolts, denouncing the government and even the monarchy itself.[36]

The combined strategy of Church and Inquisition had been a success. Three years after these events, the royal government began to repeal the entire program of reform previously implemented with regard to the Conversos, returning to the earlier rigor against New Christians and restoring their rightful political agency to Portuguese institutions. The Viceroy and the Inquisitor General, supported by the Church and the Counsel of

[35] Ibid. pp. 144–146.
[36] Ibid. pp. 146–148.

Portugal at the court in Madrid, were the architects of this restoration of the old order as far as the Converso problem was concerned. After those events, everyone had learned an important lesson, especially the inquisitors and the clergy, who, satisfied with their achievement, took note of the experience in order to repeat it when the need might arise.

"The Jewish conspiracy" of the University of Coimbra

In the opening years of Philip IV's reign, between 1621 and 1632, a series of similar events unfolded, but now their extent and intensity were much greater. At that time, the government had once more undertaken a reform program with regard to the Portuguese New Christians. Once again, the reforms were instituted by extraordinary means, in their development, discussion, and execution. The king chose to place the royal favorite, the Count Duke of Olivares, in charge of the initiative, to be implemented by an ad hoc series of governing *juntas*, leaving the traditional governing institutions in the background.

Fernando Martins de Mascarenhas, Inquisitor General (1616–1628) and Bishop of the Algarve, set in motion a firm offensive, coordinating the efforts of Church and Inquisition. At the Madrid Court, attorneys and emissaries of both institutions worked tirelessly to make the king aware of their views and protestations. Their activities were varied and intense. They brought pressure to bear at the Palace, sought to learn the secret deliberations of the governing *juntas*, kept their superiors in Portugal abreast of developments, appealed to the king and his ministers, and transmitted to the Court the echo produced by the intense propaganda campaigns that the Inquisition and the Church had organized in Portugal.

One of these campaigns, orchestrated by Inquisitor General Mascarenhas, provoked an enormous scandal. In 1624, in the city of Lisbon, a spectacular auto-da-fé took place involving the members of an alleged "Jewish conspiracy," which had supposedly been operating in Coimbra with close ties to its university. At the head of this conspiracy was António Homen, a prestigious professor as well as a priest and doctor of canon law in the Cathedral of Coimbra, who was condemned to die at the stake. That surprising episode was one of the cases that caused the greatest stir in Portuguese society.[37] In my view, this event, as astonishing as it was obscure,

[37] António Baiao, *Episódios dramáticos da Inquisição Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1972 (3ª ed.), vol. I, pp. 93–114.

must be understood within the context of the strong political tension between the Portuguese Inquisition and the Court, referred to above.

The text of the sermon preached during the 1624 auto-da-fé expresses the political messages the authorities wished to promulgate through that event. To begin with, the choice of preacher is quite significant. The commission went to Fray António de Sousa, a Dominican and a prominent member of the governing body of the Inquisition, known for his expertise as a jurist and for having authored a number of juridical defences of inquisitorial autonomy.[38] On this occasion, he played the role of propagandist for the Inquisition, first with his raised voice from a platform in Lisbon before a huge crowd on the banks of the Tagus, among whom were the leading authorities of the kingdom; and later making his views available to readers throughout Portugal, on the printed page.[39]

The Dominican António de Sousa based his discourse on the fundamental idea alluded to above. The grave ills the kingdom suffered were the direct consequence of Judaism's vast expansion throughout the land, and blame rested primarily with the king, for his wayward policy, which was acquiescent toward New Christians and hostile to the Inquisition and the Church: "one of the causes of the trials and troubles that have afflicted this Kingdom for so many years is the great number of Jews living among us." The political message was as simple as it was direct.[40]

The advance of Judaism, according to the Dominican, had reached alarming proportions. Maravall introduced the term *extremosidad*, extreme exaggeration, to refer to this type of inflated rhetoric with a political motive, which he explained as a characteristic technique of communication in Baroque culture whose aim was to manipulate the collective will. But, exaggerated as it may have been, the idea launched by Fray António de Sousa was becoming a common theme both inside and out

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[38] Enrique Gacto, "Antonio de Sousa y el derecho inquisitorial", Arturo Bernal Palacios (ed.), *Praedicatores, Inquisidores- II*, Istituto Storico Dominicano, Roma, 2006, pp. 153–172.

[39] *Sermam que o Padre Maestre Frei António de Sousa da Orden dos Prègadores, Deputado do Santo Oficio da Inquisição desta Cidade de Lisboa prègou no Auto da Fé que se celebro una mesma Cidade, Domingo cinco de Mayo do Anno de 1624. Presentes os Senhores Governadores deste Reyno, y o Illustrissimo, y Reverendissimo Señor Bispo Dom Fernão Martins Mascarenhas Inquisidor Gèral. Offerecido à Virgen nossa Senhora do Rosario. Com todas as licenças necesarias*, Lisbon, Geraldo da Vinha, 1624, fol. 2v. The sermón is reproduced in António José Teixeira, *António Homem e a Inquisição*, Coimbra, 1895. On the text of the sermon see João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina*, pp. 153–155. Also António José Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos-novos*, Oporto, 1969, pp. 153–154. Saraiva's book has been reedited, expanded, and translated into English by Herman P. Salomón, *The Marrano Factory*, Leiden, 2002.

[40] Frei António de Sousa, fol. 16.

of Portugal. In Castile, Francisco de Quevedo claimed that Jews were the easiest thing to find in Portugal.[41] In his sermon, Sousa explained that the presence of Jews was increasing so fast that there were already countless numbers of them even within the most prestigious institutions of the country. The 'secret Jewish conspiracy' uncovered in the emblematic University of Coimbra was an example: "Just a few short years ago, only humble Jews appeared in autos-da-fé . . . Look who is appearing now, for example in this very one: many ecclesiastics, monks, holders of diplomas, university degrees, and doctorates, and professors who are relatives of the nobility . . ."[42]

Portugal was in grave danger. The permissive attitude and benevolent policies toward New Christians were producing dramatic consequences. God was punishing the Portuguese. Thus spoke António de Sousa during his sermon before the multitude in Lisbon in 1624. Recovering divine favor was urgent, and achieving it called for a decisive struggle against heresy such as the inquisitors engaged in, without hesitation, eradicating it with firmness and rigor. History, which taught one how we should live, showed the accuracy of his position.

The idea that God rewards those who punish the Jews and punishes those who show them kindness had been circulating more and more frequently until it had become a commonplace. Fray Manuel dos Anjos used it as his principal argument in a sermon he preached in the city of Évora on the occasion of another auto-da-fé, held in 1629. God had always rewarded those monarchs who imposed harsh, unyielding policies on Jews and Conversos. The Catholic Monarchs, after expelling the Jews in 1492, were compensated with the discovery of a New World. In contrast, Don Sebastião de Portugal died in Africa and lost his kingdom, which passed into the hands of the Hapsburgs, due to his benevolence toward New Christians, who "in this poor Kingdom alone are favored, prosperous, and honored."[43] No one could fail to see it. The political context of those years gave meaning to the words of these preachers.

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[41] Francisco de Quevedo, *La Rebelión de Barcelona*, Madrid, 1946, vol. 23, p. 285.

[42] Frei António de Sousa, fol. 12.

[43] *Sermão que pregou o bispo de Fez D. Fr. Mantel dos Anjos frade menor e filho da sancta Provincia do Algarbe, e deputado do Sancto Officio na Inquisição d'Evora: no Auto da Fee que se celebrou na praça da Cidade de Évora o primeiro de Abril de 1629 na quarta Dominga da Cuaresma, Sendo presentes os Senhores Inquisidores, Gomes de Brito da Silva, Antonio da Silveira, e Sebastião Tinoco, Ordinario y Reverendo Cabido, Religiões, e nobreza da Cidade. Com todas as licenças necesarias*, Évora, Mantel Carvalho Impresor da Universidade, 1629.

Alarm spread throughout the kingdom and beyond. People lived then immersed in a system of belief suffused with providentialism, from which politics had still not been separated. The majority participated in this belief, from the king down to the humblest subjects. Specific individuals were considered guilty of provoking the wrath of God, and therefore held directly responsible for the evils suffered by the kingdom. The voices of the preachers singled out the king and his government. António de Sousa, in his 1624 sermon in Lisbon, stated it clearly. He spoke with the authoritative voice of a member of the Inquisition, and his audience constituted a full representation of the kingdom, from the maximum civil and religious authorities down to the common folk. As one monk put it on that occasion, the royal ministers were responsible for the grave ills Portugal suffered as divine punishment. At that very moment the government was developing a policy that threatened to provoke new troubles. To prevent them, António de Sousa demanded that the protests of the Inquisition be heard. He called on the preachers to raise their voices to move the faithful, all speaking with one accord, to persuade the king of the necessity of a change of course. His decision to print the sermon, as he declared in his notice "To the Christian Reader," had as its objective to keep that call alive.

The Sacrilege of Santa Engracia and Subsequent Mobilizations and Revolts

Throughout the year 1630 there were renewed violent revolts against New Christians. The trigger was another scandal, this time of even greater social impact, if that were possible. Social scandal had become quite a useful political tool, due to its ability not just to move people, but to mobilize them. This time, the commotion was caused by a desecration in the Church of Santa Engracia in Lisbon, where someone stole the communion wafers from the tabernacle. "An abominable case and a tremendous sacrilege," as it was described in an account written at the time by a witness who appeared to be well informed.[44] One of those accused was Simão Pires Solís, member of a wealthy family of known New Christians, who had three sisters in a convent and a brother who was a Franciscan monk,

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Referred to in João Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina*, p. 275.

[44] Biblioteca de Ajuda (Lisboa), Cód. Ms. 51-II-29 (16) Fols. 192r–205r.

and whose uncle was Jorge Rodrigues Solís, part of the team that had negotiated with Philip III's ministers the benevolent measures conceded to the New Christians between 1601 and 1605. Simão Pires was burned alive in the midst of an atrocious spectacle, following a rapid and dubious trial undertaken by the civil courts, and from which the Inquisition was excluded.[45]

According to the aforementioned eyewitness, after a rapid trial the accused was sentenced to death without evident proof of his guilt ever having been presented, as some among the judges who voted against the sentence pointed out. The unfortunate Pires was dragged through the streets of the city to the Campo de Santa Clara, location of the Igreja de Santa Engrácia, the church in which the sacrilege was supposed to have occurred. He was lifted onto a raised platform, high and wide, in view of all. "The accused showed great spirit when they cut off his hands, and afterwards, up on the platform seated on a plank, he drank wine from a jug, calling always on the name of Jesus and that of Our Lady of the Rosary. His last sighs were, 'Credo, Credo' . . . and he ended his life over a slow fire."[46] His ashes were scattered over the waters of the Tagus River.

Many doubted the guilt of the condemned man. Some among the spectators fainted, and no one stoned the charred corpse of the accused as was customary in cases of heresy. The author of the account we are following retells the impression a Jesuit who was with Pires on the scaffold shared with him: he died a Christian. Although not a perfect Catholic in all respects, he was a true Christian, as were most of those accused of Judaism and condemned to death that the Jesuit had accompanied to the bonfire, who had proclaimed their innocence to the end.[47] Years later, a Portuguese man was arrested in Galicia who confessed to having committed the robbery in the Igreja de Santa Engracia. Thus the suspicions were confirmed of those who accused the judges of sending an innocent man to the stake, with no other purpose than to slake the thirst for vengeance of crowds who had been stirred up against New Christians for years.

But those doubts did not prevent the news of the sacrilege from provoking an enormous social reaction, with mobilizations that went on

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[45] Tanto el reo como sus familiares y amigos suplicaron al Inquisidor General Francisco de Castro que fuera la Inquisición la que le procesara, pero no se atendieron sus súplicas. António Borges Coelho, *Inqusicçao de Évora*, Lisboa, 1987, vol. 2, p. 192.

[46] Ibid. fols. 199–200.

[47] Ibid. Véase también António Borges Coelho, *Inquisiçao de Évora*, vol. 1, pp. 140–142 and pp. 164–183.

for months and left a deep impression in the collective memory. The Portuguese authorities themselves unleashed this response with a general appeal, to which the society responded in massive fashion. "All the monasteries and churches joined in a sacred competition," to see who could make the most impressive public show of contrition for the sacrilege that had been committed.[48] In this way, Lisbon and other cities were inundated with demonstrations of devotion. A great many octaves and novenas were celebrated, in which the faithful gathered to do public penance for the violation of the sacred Host. But those massive mobilizations readily transformed into demonstrations against Conversos, who were collectively blamed for the event, regarded as yet another example of their hatred for Christians and their desire to do them harm. This was the interpretation of the religious authorities, promoters of these public spectacles of contrition, and it was shared by those who supported their calls for participation.[49] The Archbishop of Lisbon convoked a prayer octave in the Church of Santa Engracia itself, the very place from which the communion wafers had been stolen. This eight days' festival was celebrated "with much pomp, publicity, and huge crowds."[50] Following this octave, many other churches organized their own prayer festivals, all over Lisbon and in other Portuguese cities as well, the cumulative effect of which was a massive collective reaction of exceptional intensity and duration. For more than a century the anniversary of that sacrilege continued to be observed in the Church of Santa Engracia.[51]

The message promoted by such mobilizations has been explained above; it was repeated *ad nauseam* in sermons and in accounts of the festivals that were published at the time. It was said to be alarming how much Judaism had spread in Portugal and how it had succeeded in penetrating the leading institutions and social strata of the kingdom. The nobility and the Church were contaminated by a multitude of New Christians

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[48] *Sermam que o Padre Diogo de Areda da Compañía de Iesu fez na Igreja de Sancta Engracia no octavario que se celebrou na mesma Igreja em louvor do Santísimo Sacramento pello caso que nella aconteceo.* Lisbon, Antonio Alvarez, 1630. Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, R 3024P, fol. 2r.

[49] This model of social mobilization around the offense-atonement dyad recurs in different times and places. J. Ignacio Pulido Serrano, "La fe desatada en devoción: la proyección pública de la Inquisición. Granada, 1640," *Torre de los Lujanes*, vol. 41, diciembre 1999, pp. 95–108.

[50] "Sermam que o Padre Diogo de Areda . . . ," fol. 3r.

[51] Helga Bauer, "Die Predigt als Spiegel politischer und sozialer Ereignisse zur *Judenfrage* im Jahre 1630 in Portugal," *Aufsätze zur Portugiesischen Kulturgeschichte*, 11, 1974, pp. 26–67.

who had successfully entered their ranks, to such a degree that Portuguese honour was compromised in foreign lands, and the Portuguese were considered Jews. The king and his government protected the heretics rather than eradicating them, and even prevented the inquisitors and ministers of the Church from living up to their responsibility for fighting the heresy. Thus the Jews grew increasingly rich and powerful, and felt so sure of themselves that they dared to commit acts of extreme cruelty against Christians, as had been amply demonstrated with the desecration at Santa Engracia. This situation had provoked God's intense wrath, and He was punishing the Portuguese for continuing to allow it.[52]

The Eucharist, the most exalted of the sacraments in post-Tridentine society, now took on a special meaning. Many who participated in those religious demonstrations did so in order to express not only their devotion to the consecrated host but also their anger against the New Christians and the royal government. There were those among the clergy who tried to calm the masses from the pulpit, such as Fray Dionisio dos Anjos, who preached in Lisbon. Although he called for rigor against the 'Jews' who had committed the sacrilege—"to avert the punishments that due to this crime threaten this entire kingdom and above all its people"—he also warned that punishing the perpetrators was the right of the authorities alone. The people should not take justice into their own hands, "for fear of revolts and disorderly riots," he cautioned those who had gathered within earshot of his voice.[53]

Not all preachers were as prudent as Fray Dionisio, however, nor was it easy to pacify people who had been agitated in the extreme by so many sermons, so many ceremonies of contrition, and so many inquisitorial spectacles. In Lisbon, the Prior of the Monastery of Our Lady of Light (Nossa Senhora da Luz) encouraged preachers to raise their voices loudly against the Jews living in Portugal, the cause of the prostration of the kingdom and its people. There were some who went too far and had to be disciplined, such as the Carmelite monk Timotheo de Ciabra Pimentel, who was prohibited from preaching in public and expelled from the

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[52] One finds this point of view in the various sermons collected by Helga Bauer, "Die Predigt als Spiegel politischer und sozialer Ereignisse zur *Judenfrage* im Jahre 1630 in Portugal."

[53] Sermão que pregou o P.M.F. Dionisio dos Anjos [...] nas demostrações q. se fizerão pelo roubo do Santísimo Sacramento, da Parochia de Santa Engracia [...]. This sermon, printed in Braga in 1630, is cited by J. Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina*, pp. 171–172.

kingdom; he availed himself of the opportunity this provided to publish his sermons in Barcelona, with great commercial success and translations into several languages.[54]

The Augustine Filipe Moreira, in the sermon he preached at the auto-da-fé convened at Évora in June of 1630, a ceremony infected by this anti-Jewish atmosphere, also explained that the extreme difficulties Portugal was going through were the consequence of the spread of Judaism and the lack of rigor in its repression.[55] Seven years later, the well-known peasant revolts of the countryside of Évora took place, causing general alarm and anticipating the definitive rebellion of 1640. Historians have explained the revolts of 1637 as a typical case of anti-tax riots similar to those that shook much of Europe throughout the seventeenth century. It would be of great interest to analyze to what degree the masses who led them, who regularly frequented the autos-da-fé celebrated in Évora, were goaded on not only by external calamities, but also by the ideas and images that unfolded in those public spaces where they were taught to recognize the New Christians as the ones responsible for all the ills suffered by the Portuguese.

Doubtless, the sacrilege at the Church of Santa Engracia was the spark that caused an overheated atmosphere to finally explode. Rumors ran throughout the country of other sacrilegious acts also attributed to the Jews. The response was immediate. In that same year of 1630 a chain of episodes of violence was unleashed against New Christians in a range of cities across Portugal: Lisbon, Setúbal, Torres Novas, Santarém, Portalegre, Évora, and Coimbra.[56] Those outbursts of social rebellion can be interpreted as an unexpected consequence of agitation provoked from above, or, on the contrary, as the desired effect intentionally sought by the main agitators. In the minds of the rioters, ordinary inhabitants of the urban environment, religious fervor merged with anti-Jewish hatred and protest

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[54] *Honda de David,/con cinco sermones,/o piedras, tiradas en defensión, y/ alabança del Santísimo Sacramento del Altar, contra herejes Sacrarmen-/tarios, y Iudios bautizados en el Reyno de Portugal/ Apostatas de nuestra/ santa Fé: por la ocasión del robo sacrilego cometido en la Igle-/sia Parroquial de Santa Engracia en la ciudad/ de Lisboa/ Predicados, y compuestos por el Dotor/ Timotheo de Ciabra Pimentel Portugués, Predicador general en dicha Ciudad, y Reyno de Portugal./ Dirigidos al muy ilustre señor don/ Sebastián Iudice Fiesco, Señor y Carlan de Tamarit, y de/ San Phelipe de Luelles.*/Año 1631/ Con licencia en Barcelona, por Gerónymo Margarit. Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, R 11978 V.

[55] J. Francisco Marques, *A Parenética Portuguesa e a Dominação Filipina*, Oporto, 1986, p. 173.

[56] António de Oliveira, O motim dos estudantes de Coimbra contra os cristãos-novos em 1630," *Biblos. Revista da Facultade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra*, 57, Coimbra, 1981, pp. 597–627.

against the authorities, identified at that moment with the royal government. These episodes of violence repeated the same model as those of 1605, described above, and which took place as a result of the government's decision to suspend the autos-da-fé and release the prisoners of the Inquisition. But now the scale of events was much larger. So great was the feeling of tension and discontent in Portuguese society that the ministers charged with investigating the events advised the king to pretend nothing had happened and take no action against those implicated in the rioting, lest in punishing them he provoke even greater altercations.[57]

The Inquisition and the ecclesiastical authorities shared responsibility for all that happened. The ecclesiastical *junta* convened in the town of Tomar in 1629 provides a clear case in point. We do not find another such occasion in the entire history of Portugal in which archbishops and bishops gathered officially for months to debate the Converso issue and decide upon a common position for the Church to adopt on the matter. The organizers of this unprecedented encounter aspired to the category of National Council, with the power to legislate, but the king refused. After tough negotiations, he finally allowed them to convene their ecclesiastical *junta*, but with only the right to deliberate. Reluctantly, he also permitted them to hold the meeting in Tomar, a historical city of heightened symbolic value.[58]

The social impact and political effect of that meeting were extreme. The lengthy encounter of the prelates throughout the spring and summer of 1629 took place in the Convent of Christ in the city of Tomar, symbol of Portuguese national origin. During long debates, the bishops developed an extensive treaty which they circulated widely and also sent directly to the king. They repeated, once more, the same arguments that had been heard for some time. Their conclusions, moreover, represented a firm stance in support of a policy of maximum rigor against New Christians, which should be led by the Church and the Inquisition. It is not too hard to imagine the influence that meeting had immediately on the entire ecclesiastical estate, particularly on the tribunals of the Inquisition. The bishops, as pastors of their dioceses, marked the course that would be followed by their ministers and by the faithful in general.

As they would subsequently explain in a letter to the king, the bishops came to interpret the sacrilege at Santa Engracia as an act of vengeance

[57] Ibid. pp. 625–627.
[58] Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, *Os judeus e a Inquisiçao no tempo dos Filipes*, pp. 160–164.

taken by the New Christians in response to the Tomar *junta*.[59] For them there was no room for doubt that both occurrences were connected. The new Inquisitor, General Francisco de Castro (1630–1653), Bishop of Guarda, explained to the monarch at considerable length that he was certain the sacrilege had been committed by New Christians and was yet another sign of their incorrigible evil and obstinate adherence to Judaism. The news of other sacrileges taking place in these days confirmed this idea.[60] In Madrid, the Bishop of Coimbra, attorney for the Portuguese Church, also communicated to the king and his ministers the deep discontent and concern of the prelates gathered at Tomar. In that situation of extreme alarm at the unstoppable advance of the Jewish heresy, which acted with greater impunity and boldness than ever, the prelates and inquisitors felt obliged to rise up as true representatives of the kingdom, in defence of its faith and honour. They importuned the king to take on his proper role as their leader, which amounted to a questioning of his firmness and an accusation of his having abandoned his primary obligations. If they addressed the king himself so brazenly, what might they say out loud before the flocks of the faithful that they shepherded? What hints would they not give to the ministers of the Church who, within their dioceses, were subject to their authority?[61]

Conclusion

The victory of the clergy and the inquisitors was so decisive that the effects of their efforts have lasted up to the present day. Their message remains alive nearly four hundred years later, and the idea that they disseminated, that of a vigorous and growing Judaism in Portugal during the seventeenth century, can be found repeated in the publications of scholars who have worked in this field. Crypto-Judaism among the New Christians was by then on the wane, in my view, but the inquisitors and clerics magnified it and blew it out of all proportion as part of a propaganda campaign that

[59] Archivo Nacional Torre do Tombo, Conselho Geral do Santo Oficio, liv. 302 fol. 225. Letter from the prelates to the king (15/12/1630).

[60] António Borges Coelho, *Inquisição de Évora*, Lisboa, 1987, vol. 2, p. 183. The autor transcribes in Appendix 17 the missive from Inquisitor General Francisco de Castro to the King dated in 1630. On Francisco de Castro see António Borges Coelho, *A morte do Inquisidor-Geral*, Lisboa, 2007.

[61] Juan Ignacio Pulido Serrano, *Os judeus e a Inquisição no tempo dos Filipes*, pp. 165–167.

had clear political objectives. They exaggerated the Converso problem for the political purpose of opposing the royal government and mobilizing Portuguese society in support of their position. The Converso problem gave rise to a strategic conflict, heated by a fervent anti-Jewish ideology that ended up distorting the reality of those individuals categorized as New Christians. What they truly were mattered less than the public perception of them. Thus we are faced with the study of an issue that encompassed not only the reality of that social minority, but also their image or cultural representation.

That oppositional strategy was developed, in large part, in the public sphere, where the inflated number of anti-Jewish sermons and autos-da-fé corresponded to a premeditated intention to mobilize society and thereby endorse with irrefutable arguments the pressure exercised over the royal government. The climate this generated sent shock waves through the royal court, as the king and his ministers received alarming descriptions of the situation, which conditioned their political decision-making. The *extremosidad*, extreme exaggeration, referred to above was a well-known communicative resource, characteristic of Baroque culture, which sought simultaneously to overwhelm and incite the individual. Constant reiteration was another psychological resource that augmented the efficacy of communicative action. Inquisitors and clerics staged, time after time, an extreme and thus distorted idea of what the New Christians were in reality. Through this tactic they mobilized Portuguese society in their political power struggle against the Spanish crown.

CHAPTER TWELVE

NOWHERE TO RUN: THE EXTRADITION OF CONVERSOS BETWEEN THE SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE INQUISITIONS DURING THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

François Soyer

Modern historians who have studied the Conversos and the Inquisition in the early modern Iberian Peninsula have demonstrated a marked tendency to focus their research on either Spain or Portugal. Until recently, little effort has been expended to understand how the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions sought to track down those Conversos who crossed the long terrestrial border dividing the two Iberian kingdoms.[1] Thus the nature of the relations that existed between these two institutions remains largely obscure.

This oversight by historians is all the more surprising since a number of documents dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—and presently preserved in the Portuguese and Spanish national archives[2]—provide distinct evidence of collaboration between the Inquisitions of both kingdoms. This cooperation took the form not only of exchanges of information between Spanish and Portuguese inquisitorial tribunals but also of two extradition treaties, in 1544 and 1570, which were the fruit of lengthy and arduous negotiations between the Inquisitor Generals of Spain and Portugal in the 1540s and 1560s. This work will seek to bring to light a crucial aspect of relations between the two Inquisitions of the Iberian Peninsula, focusing on the manner in which they combined their forces to prevent Conversos from evading Inquisitorial justice. It will endeavour to reconstruct, in as much detail as possible, the history of

[1] For a seminal study of the Converso communities residing in the Castilian border region of Ciudad Rodrigo see Pilar Huerga Criado, *En la raya de Portugal. Solidaridad y tensiones en la comunidad judeoconversa*, (Salamanca, 1993). Also of interest on the movement of Portuguese Conversos to Castile is R. Carrasco, "Preludio al 'siglo de los portugueses,' La Inquisición de Cuenca y los judaizantes lusitanos en el siglo XVI," *Hispania*, 47 (1987), pp. 509–513.

[2] The *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* in Lisbon and the *Archvio Histórico Nacional* in Madrid.

the relationship between the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions in an examination of the process by which the extradition treaties came into existence and how, in practice, prisoners and fugitive Conversos were apprehended and extradited in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The article will conclude with a short case study to help illustrate the "mechanics" of inquisitorial extraditions in the period covered: the extradition from Seville in Spain to Évora in Portugal of a young Converso fugitive in 1604.

The Inquisition and the Challenge of Converso Mobility

From the very moment that the first tribunal of the Spanish Holy Office was established in Seville in 1480, the new inquisitors were forced to confront the problem presented by the flight of Conversos from Spain to Portugal. The relative geographical proximity of the Portuguese border and the absence—until 1536—of an Inquisition operating in the Lusitanian kingdom made it a logical place for Conversos fleeing persecution to seek sanctuary. Moreover, the less than cordial relations between the rulers of Portugal and Castile in the 1470s and 1480s probably convinced many of these fugitives that they were beyond the grasp of the Spanish Inquisition. The presence of Converso refugees from Castile residing in Portugal is amply attested by documentary evidence. As early as 1484, for instance, the Spanish Inquisition was complaining that wanted fugitives had sought refuge in the Portuguese town of Évora and had received the protection of the local bishop Garcia de Meneses.[3]

In order to appease his Castilian neighbours, and prevent social unrest within his own realm, the King of Portugal belatedly sought to prohibit the entry of new Converso refugees into his kingdom and to force the departure of those already residing there. To this effect, King João II (1481–1495) and his successor Manuel I (1495–1521) ordered the promulgation of no less than three edicts expelling the Castilian Conversos from Portugal in October 1488, July 1493 and November 1496.[4] These royal decrees do not, however, appear to have had any real effect upon the situation and it is difficult to know how they could have been effectively implemented

[3] F. Soyer, *The Persecution of the Jews and Muslims of Portugal. King Manuel I and the End of Religious Tolerance, 1496–7*, Leiden, 2007, pp. 93–6. This work also highlights many other cases of Conversos who fled to Portugal in the 1480s and 1490s.

[4] For further details see F. Soyer, "Was there an Inquisition in Portugal before 1536?" *Iacobus: Revista de Estudios Jacobeos y Medievales*, 19–20 (2005), pp. 177–202.

by the Crown and its officials. In terms of their clothing or speech, Castilian Conversos would have been virtually indistinguishable from any other Castilians entering Portugal to settle or trade there. King Manuel I was eventually forced to relent, and issued another edict in 1503 in which he specified that only Castilian Conversos in possession of an official licence, indicating that they had not been convicted in Spain of any heretical deeds, could legitimately enter Portugal.[5]

By the third decade of the sixteenth century, the frustrations of the Spanish Inquisition at its failure to apprehend fugitives residing Portugal—and the threat that such a "safe haven" for Conversos presented to its authority and mission—culminated in the eruption of a major diplomatic incident between Spain and Portugal in 1528. Two heretics (presumably Conversos) imprisoned in the cells of the Inquisitorial palace of Seville—whose names were Gonzalo Rodríguez and Jorge Díaz—escaped and sought safety in Portugal before the Inquisition's familiars could apprehend them. The Spanish monarch, presumably prompted by the Spanish Inquisition, contacted King João III of Portugal (1521–1557) to ask for the extradition of the two men. Notwithstanding Spanish pressure, João resisted all attempts to pressure him into compliance.[6] In a letter sent to Charles V (1516–1556) on 2 July 1529, the Portuguese King sought to reassure his Spanish counterpart and brother-in-law that the fugitives, as well as any other men deemed to be "guilty of the sin of heresy" would be "punished and chastised with such rigor as is warranted by the law." He also promised that the men would be forced to face the full force of the law in Portugal but, just as crucially, he did not offer to hand them over to the Spanish Inquisitorial tribunal in Seville.[7]

The establishment of an Inquisition in Portugal, delayed until 1536, failed to immediately alter the situation. It was the Spanish Inquisition that took the initiative and brought the issue of extraditions to the fore

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[5] *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo* (A.N.T.T.), *Gavetas*, II, *maço* 1, nº 30.

[6] See the ciphered letter sent by the Spanish ambassador in Lisbon, Lope Hurtado de Mendoza, to Charles V in A. Viaud, *Correspondance d'un ambassadeur castillan au Portugal dans les années 1530. Lope Hurtado de Mendoza*, Lisbon/Paris, 2001, pp. 304–7, 318–9, docs. 20, 21 and 25.

[7] "…receby a carta que me esprevestes sobre a entregua que me roguaveis que mamdase fazer aos imquisidores da Sancta Inquisiçam de Sevilha de Gonçalo Rodrigues vezinho d'Évora e de Jorge Diaz vezinho de Lixboa que na dita cidade de Sevilha foram presos por se dizer serem culpados no pecado da eresia e que fogiram da dicta prisam. E ouvy Lopo Furtado voso embaixador em todo o que de vosa parte sobre iso me dise, e vos deves aver por muy certo que de estes e todo os outros culpados no dicto pecado da eresia serem punidos e castiguados com tanto riguor como aos taees por direito se deve fazer, ey de receber aguora e sempre muito prazer…" A. Viaud, op. cit., p. 142, doc. 55.

once more when, in 1542, the Spanish Inquisitor General Juan Tavera (1472–1545) wrote a letter to his Portuguese counterpart Cardinal *Infante* Henrique (1512–1580).[8] The Spanish Inquisitor General requested that all Spanish Conversos sought by the Spanish Inquisition and arrested in Portugal be immediately returned to Spain. Such men and women were to be returned to Spain regardless of any crimes of heretical acts committed on Portuguese soil. In his reply, dated 12 July 1542, Cardinal Henrique refused to consider such extraditions and only agreed to the exchange of transcripts of testimony, to avoid delays in bringing to trial the many Conversos apprehended by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, thus allowing Conversos to be tried without delay in whichever country had been arrested.[9]

The First Extradition Treaty (1544)

The position adopted by Cardinal Henrique in July 1542 appeared to be inflexible, but events the following year forced the Spaniards and Portuguese to re-examine the issue of extraditions. The dispute was reignited by the flight to Portugal in late 1542 or early 1543 of two men who were brothers and bore the surname of Bajiras. The local Inquisitorial tribunal of Llerena had ordered their arrest after having received evidence indicating that they were guilty of "the crime of heresy and apostasy." The surviving documents do not specify the nature of the heresy that these men were accused of but it seems from their surname that they were probably Moriscos rather than Conversos. The two men, who were residents of the town of Hornachos in the Castilian Extremadura,[10] murdered an official of

[8] The remarkable Cardinal *Infante* Henrique was to be Inquisitor General of the Portuguese Inquisition for nearly four decades (1539–1579). He was the brother of King João III and uncle of King Sebastião (1557–1578) before he himself briefly ruled Portugal, between 1578 and 1580. See the recent work of Amélia Polónia, *D. Henrique*, Lisbon, 2006 and also her *O Cardeal Infante D. Henrique, arcebispo de Évora—um prelado no limiar da viragem tridentina*, Porto, 2004.

[9] *Archivo Histórico Nacional* (A.H.N.), *libro* 294, fol. 62r; A.N.T.T., *Inquisição*, *Conselho Geral*, *livro* 200, fol. 46v; *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Reservados* (B.N.L.), *códice* nº 869, fol. 5r. I. da Rosa Pereira, *Documentos para a história da Inquisição em Portugal* (*Século XVI*), Lisbon, 1987, doc. 31, pp. 35–6.

[10] Moriscos formed the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of Hornachos in the sixteenth century. See L.P. Harvey, *Muslims in Spain, 1500 to 1614*, Chicago, 2005, pp. 369–378.

the Inquisition who had come to arrest them and promptly evaded further attempts to take them into custody by crossing the Portuguese border.

The Inquisitor General of Spain wrote to Cardinal Henrique to demand that the Bajiras brothers be immediately arrested and handed over to the Spanish authorities. In reply, Cardinal Henrique once more rejected the possibility of extraditing the fugitives and insisted that the brothers would be put on trial in Portugal. Claiming to have personally discussed the matter with King João III and obtained his support, Cardinal Henrique explained his decision by arguing that: "[. . .] it has seemed better to me, in order to avoid inconveniences that might result from [an extradition], that the aforesaid [Bajiras brothers] should not be extradited. The testimony against them must instead be sent from [Spain] to [Portugal], so that they may be punished where they have been arrested."[11] In the face of the Portuguese refusal to consider an extradition, the Spanish Inquisitor General eventually agreed, in a letter dated 13 April 1543, to forward the evidence that was necessary for the Bajiras brothers to be tried in Portugal.[12]

The tensions and conflicts caused by the problem of extraditions eventually forced the Spaniards and Portuguese to reach a compromise and set out a clear set of rules governing the jurisdiction of both Inquisitions concerning fugitive heretics. Whether or not the negotiations that resulted in the extradition treaty of 1544 were a direct result of the "Bajiras incident" is not known. The surviving documentary evidence, however, indicates that, at an unknown date in 1544, the Inquisitor General of Spain and Cardinal Henrique agreed upon a set of procedures relating to extraditions that both Inquisitions were to follow. Whilst the documentary evidence reveals no details about the negotiations themselves, the actual clauses of

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[11] ". . . que me pareçia mejor, por excusar inconvenientes que dello se podian recrecer, que los tales no fuesen remitidos, mas que se mandasen las culpas de vn Reino a otro, para ser castigados, donde fuesen pressos, e assi pareçio bien al Rey mi Señor a quien di cuenta desto . . ." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[12] "Reverendo Señor El Infante D. Enrique Inquisidor general del Reino de Portugal Respondeo al Illmo Señor Cardenal sobre los Bajiras, que mattaron al sacristán de Hornachos lo que vereis por el traslado de la carta que a su Señoria Rma escrivio, que va con la presente; E pues no[unreadable]iene en remitir a ese Santo Officio los sobredichos, ha parecido a su Illma Señoria que se debe enviar al dicho Infante enrique la Información, que ay en esa Inquisición contra los dichos Bajiras, assi la que se reçibio sobre el crimen de la heregia, como la que se reçibio sobre la muerte del dicho Sacristán, en publica forma, y en manera que se haga fe, para que alli se administre justiçia en sus causas, como por su carta ofreçe, que lo hara. Estamos esperando la respuesta de su Illma Señoria, para el dicho Infante, en viniendo se os enviara con el primero." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

the treaty are preserved in a number of different documents in Portugal. The treaty of 1544 contained four separate clauses:

1. If an inquisitorial tribunal in one kingdom required another Inquisitorial tribunal located in the neighbouring kingdom to arrest a suspect, the latter tribunal would effectuate the arrest and extradite the suspect.
2. If a tribunal of the Inquisition arrested a suspect for crimes committed in the kingdom of that inquisitorial tribunal, the tribunals of the neighbouring kingdom would be bound to send, at the behest of the former, any witness testimony it held against the suspect, without requiring that the suspect be handed over to it.
3. A prisoner would only be extradited if he or she were accused of committing an act of heresy so grave or scandalous that such an extradition was considered to be necessary. Amongst such exceptional cases were heresiarchs and individuals who had escaped from an inquisitorial prison and fled to the neighbouring realm. In such cases, the extradition would be negotiated, and could only be authorised, by the Inquisitor Generals of both realms.
4. The Inquisitions of Spain and Portugal agreed to exchange any denunciations that they received concerning suspects residing in the neighbouring realm.[13]

The Luso-Spanish extradition treaty of 1544 was a compromise between two very different positions: the Spanish Inquisition's will to render the exchange of prisoners possible and the Portuguese Inquisition's reticence to relinquish control over many of its prisoners. The first clause of the treaty explicitly opened the way for extraditions, but the third clause effectively restricted these to exceptional situations. The second and fourth clauses appear to reflect Cardinal Henrique's wish to see a greater level of information—rather than prisoners—being exchanged between Spanish and Portuguese tribunals.

The Portuguese Inquisitor General's reluctance to permit the extradition of fugitive Conversos doubtless reflects the fact that the flow of Converso fugitives during the period between 1480 and 1536—and even for a while after—was very much in a one-way direction: from Spain to Portugal. As such, Cardinal Henrique and the Portuguese inquisitors were naturally concerned that any extradition treaty would disproportionately

[13] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 200, fols. 36v–37r; *livro* 386, fols. 72r–72v.

benefit the Spanish Inquisition. The extradition of large numbers of Conversos to Spain would certainly have had serious adverse consequences for the precarious finances of the Portuguese Inquisition. The sequestered property of Conversos arrested by the Holy Office was used to finance the burden (food, bedding, and clothing) of their incarceration as well as the costs of their trial. Any property that remained after the conclusion of the trial was normally sold and the proceeds entered into the treasury of the Inquisition. The extradition of prisoners to Spain, therefore, presented the Portuguese Inquisition with the possibility of losing potential income from the confiscated property of wealthy Converso prisoners. Furthermore, Cardinal Henrique must have been aware that, if these prisoners were ultimately transferred to Spanish tribunals, the Portuguese tribunals would also be faced with the risk of dissipating their scant resources on the maintenance of indigent prisoners prior to their extradition, without the prospect of any compensation for their initial financial outlay.[14]

The Second Extradition Treaty (1570)

The practical limitations of the 1544 extradition treaty meant that it was almost inevitable that the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions would sooner or later be compelled to return to this thorny issue. From the middle of the sixteenth century, increasing numbers of Conversos established in Portugal were moving across the border and residing in Spain. The increased activity of the Portuguese Inquisition from the 1540s onwards meant that the Lusitanian kingdom was no longer the safe haven it had once been.

These new circumstances are illustrated by an incident involving the inquisitorial tribunals of Lisbon (Portugal) and Valladolid (Spain) in 1558. In April of that year, the tribunal of Lisbon dispatched a letter to the Spanish tribunal of Valladolid in which they asked for the arrest and extradition of a Converso residing in the Castilian town of Medina del Campo. The man had originally been a native of Lisbon and was wanted for heresy by the Lisboan inquisitors. In a reversal of situations, however, it was the

[14] The finances of the Portuguese Inquisition have yet to be studied. Fortunately, insofar as the Spanish Inquisition is concerned we possess the seminal thesis of J. Martinez Millán, *La Hacienda de la Inquisición, 1478–1700*, Madrid, 1984; The confiscation of the property of convicted Conversos by the Portuguese Inquisition is briefly discussed in A.J. Saraiva, *Inquisição e Cristãos Novos*, Lisbon, 1969, pp. 251–262.

Spanish inquisitors who now proved themselves to be reluctant to hand the man over to their Portuguese colleagues, citing the terms of the 1544 treaty to justify their decision: "[Prisoners] cannot be extradited in any way and if, on certain occasions, the physical persons of the prisoners have been extradited from this Kingdom [of Spain] to that [of Portugal], it has been because they had escaped from the jails in which they were imprisoned [in Portugal] and had fled [to Spain] . . . ."[15]

Less than a decade after this incident, in 1567, the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisitions found themselves embroiled in yet another argument over the extradition of prisoners between the neighbouring tribunals of Llerena in Spain and Évora in Portugal. It is possible to reconstruct the general outline of the dispute from a variety of extant documents located in Spanish and Portuguese archives. At some unknown date in 1567, the Portuguese inquisitors of Évora apprehended a group of Conversos who were actively sought by the inquisitors of Llerena. On 18 September of that year, the inquisitors of Llerena sent a letter to the Supreme Council of the Spanish Inquisition—the *Suprema*—in which they confirmed that the tribunal of Évora had not handed over any of the prisoners and that they could not find that "any agreement or pact was made with the Portuguese Inquisition." Moreover, the inquisitors of Llerena complained that their Portuguese counterparts were often remiss in sending them all the witness testimony that was necessary to convict suspected heretics in due legal form.[16] On 21 October 1567, the *Suprema* instructed its subordinates to abide by the terms of the 1544 treaty and that, notwithstanding the perceived negligence of the Portuguese, the inquisitors of Llerena were to continue to carry out the "usual tasks" required of them by their Portuguese counterparts and to dispatch to Portugal copies of any evidence that were requested.[17]

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[15] B.N.L., *Reservados, códice* nº 869, fols. 5v–6r; A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 481, fol. 113v (the date here is given is February 1558 rather than April 1558).

[16] "Quanto a los absentes de Portugal, en esta Inquisición no hallamos haverse hecho ningun conçierto, ni acuerdo con las Inquisiciones de Portugal, mas de cuanto quando aquí se ofreçe alguna testificacion contra algunas personas Vezinas de Portugal, de delictos, que ayan cometido en aquel Reino, les enviamos las tales testificaciones, y lo mismo han hecho con esta Inquisición los Inquisidores de Portugal, aunque tenemos entendido, que los Inquisidores de Portugal no nos han enviado tantas testificaciones como alla tienen . . . ," A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[17] "Lo que toca a la prision de algunos Reos, que se absentan, y pasan a Portugal, cuyas testificaciones serian de mucha importancia para los negoçios de la Fe, se ha consultado con su Sra Vma que ha pareçido que se guarde la concordia, y orden que en esto ay con la

The dispute between the tribunals of Llerena and Évora forced the Inquisitor General of Portugal to intervene. Cardinal Henrique entrusted the Portuguese ambassador in Madrid, Dom Francisco Pereira, with the delicate task of opening negotiations with both the Spanish Inquisitor General and the Council of Castile (*el Consejo de Castilla*, which was the highest government council in the Spanish monarchy). The Cardinal *Infante* protested vigorously over the refusal of the inquisitors of Llerena to cooperate with those of Évora. On 2 December 1567, The Portuguese ambassador was compelled to inform Cardinal Henrique that the Spaniards had declared themselves to be equally "scandalized" by the failure of the inquisitors of Évora to collaborate fully with those of Llerena.[18] In a second letter, dated 3 February 1568, Dom Francisco Pereira informed Cardinal Henrique that negotiations with the Spaniards had stalled completely. The sensational arrest, on 18 January 1568, of the son and heir of King Philip II (1556–1598)—the mentally unstable *Infante* Don Carlos—had plunged the Spanish court into turmoil.[19]

Dom Francisco Pereira did not cease his efforts. On 16 February, the Portuguese ambassador was able to report that he had approached the president of the Council of Castile, who had claimed to favor the extradition of suspected and fugitive Converso heretics between both kingdoms. In addition to this, Dom Francisco had also sounded out the opinion of Rodrigo de Castro, due to his position as "the oldest of the inquisitors" in Spain.[20] Don Rodrigo had privately assured the Portuguese emissary that he also favored the routine exchange of information and extradition of prisoners by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions.[21] That Dom Francisco should have sought the opinion of Rodrigo de Castro is hardly surprising. Rodrigo de Castro's notorious role in the arrest by the Spanish Inquisition of the archbishop of Toledo, Bartolomé de Carranza, in August 1558, had not adversely affected his career. On the contrary, nearly a decade later, Don Rodrigo was a member of both the Council of Castile

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Inquisición de Portugal, y haçerse han las diligençias acostumbradas, quando proçediesen semejantes negoçios." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[18] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 210, fols. 128r–128v.

[19] "Quanto ao negocio da Inquisição, en que me vossa Alteza manda que falle ao presidente e no[m?] [fa?]rey como ouuer lugar Porque Ategora não se pode fallar en nenhũ genero de negocio, dipois da prysão do Principe . . ." A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 210, fols. 145r. The arrest of the *Infante* Don Carlos plunged Philip II into a deep depression and he briefly withdrew from all public affairs, thus paralyzing the government.

[20] See also A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 386, fol. 76r.

[21] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 210, fols. 153v–154r.

and of the Supreme Council of the Spanish Inquisition and as such commanded considerable influence in the Spanish government.[22]

When the Inquisitor General of Spain did finally respond to his Portuguese counterpart, he did not specifically address the conflict between Llerena and Évora, but instead turned to the general problem of extraditions. In an undated letter sent by the Inquisitor General of Spain to Cardinal Henrique, which was probably written in the summer or autumn of 1568, the former proposed that their respective monarchs should be consulted in the matter of extradition. The Inquisitor General of Spain presented his considered opinion that extraditions of prisoners should take place more routinely than had hereto been the case and that a firm protocol should be created. The letter to Cardinal Henrique is significant enough to be worth quoting in full:

> What Your Reverence wrote regarding the need for the exchange of information and witnesses' testimony between the inquisitors of both kingdoms so that [fugitives] accused of heresy and apostasy might be punished according to their crimes seems to me to be entirely appropriate. All the same, I do not consider that this would provide a sufficient remedy for the effective operation of Justice and the proper administration of the Holy Office, because of the problems that would arise from the need to ratify the information and testimony of witnesses in those places where they were collected as well as for other reasons. Your Reverence can confer with the Lord King [of Portugal] about this business. If it seems to His Highness and to Your Reverence that the persons accused in [Portugal] who have crossed over, or will cross over, to [Spain] should be extradited to [Portugal] and that those who go from [Spain] to [Portugal], in the same manner should be extradited to [Spain,] so that their trials [...] might take place with greater ease where they were begun and that their crimes may be punished there, [then] I will endeavour to convince His Majesty [the King of Spain] to endorse this [system of extraditions]. Once Your Reverence has consulted with His Highness [the King of Portugal], you should inform me of what seems best to you, so that a solution may be found [to the problem of extraditions].[23]

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[22] Rodrigo de Castro's successful career eventually saw him elevated to the prestigious, wealthy and powerful position of archbishop of Seville between 1581 and his death in 1600.

[23] "Lo que V.S.Rma escrivio çerca del enviarse las testificaciones de las culpas de las tales personas, y communicarse las informaciones, que contra ellas houviere por los Inquisidores de vn reino a otro, para que los culpados en el crimen de herezia, y apostasia sean castigados conforme a sus delictos, me pareçio bien, mas por que lo e considerado, que no seria remedio tan bastante este, como convennia para execuçion de la Justiçia, y buena administración del Santo Officio, por los embaraços, que sucederían, haviendose de ratificar las informaciones, y testigos en las partes, donde se haçen, y otras causas, podra V.S.Rma comunicar este negoçio, con el Ser.mo Señor Rey, y pareçiendo a su A. y a V.S.Rma

Cardinal Henrique and the General Council of the Portuguese Inquisition met this suggestion with the same reticence that they had displayed in 1544. In a letter dispatched to the Portuguese ambassador on 14 October 1568, the Portuguese Inquisitor General warned the ambassador that the Portuguese did not intend to give ground to the Spaniards on this issue: "... having studied this business, it was agreed that no extraditions of prisoners should take place either from this Kingdom to that or from that Kingdom to this. Only the transcripts of testimony must be exchanged, ratified according to form, between the Inquisitions ..."[24]

This uncompromising stance adopted by Cardinal Henrique did not result in a change of policy by the Spanish Inquisition. Acting on behalf of the Spanish Inquisitor General, Don Rodrigo de Castro informed the Portuguese ambassador, in a letter written on 13 November 1568, that the Spanish Inquisition remained firmly in favor of routine extraditions:

> It seems just to [the Inquisitor General of Spain and the *Suprema*] that criminals in matters of the Faith who are fugitives, and who have the testimony of witnesses against them, should be extradited to the place where their trials had already begun at the time when they ran away. If it is deemed appropriate to alter this rule in a special case then it will be done ...[25]

In practice, the Spanish Inquisitor General was proposing a new treaty that was the exact *opposite* of the treaty of 1544: extraditions would take place routinely and would not be limited to the exceptional cases of heresiarchs and jail-breakers. Rodrigo de Castro also informed Pereira that the Spanish Inquisition would not shift from this position and that this was the "last resolution that will be made" (*ultima resoluçion que se tomara*) in the matter of extraditions. In a separate letter, this time bearing no

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que las personas desos Reinos, que se oviesen passado, y passaren a estos, y estuviesen testificados en el Santo officio, se remitiesen alla, y los que destos Reinos estuviesen en esos, por la misma forma se remitiesen aca, porque con mas comodidad se pudiesen haçer, los proçessos, y Ratificaçiones contra ellos, donde estan començados, y se castigasen alli las culpas, le procurare con su Majestad q[ue?] lo tenga por bien, V.S. haviendolo comunicado con su A. me avisa de lo que alla pareçiere, para que se haga la resolución, que mas convenga al serviçio de Dios ...", A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17. The Spanish Inquisitor General refers at the start of the letter to another letter previously received from the Cardinal Infante and dated 10 September, without providing any date for the year.

[24] A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17; A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, livro* 51, fols. 35r–35v; B.N.L., *Reservados*, *códice* nº 869, fols. 70r–70v.

[25] "... y a su Illsma le paresce lo mesmo que antes yo signifique a V.M. que es lo que los delincuentes en los delictos de la fe fugitivos que estubieren testificados se Remitan a la parte donde se proçedia contra ellos quando se absentaron y que si en algun caso particular conviniere alterar esta orden se haga según lo que ocurriere ..." B.N.L., *Reservados, códice* nº 869, fols. 17r and 35r.

date, Rodrigo de Castro reminded the Portuguese ambassador that the Inquisitor General of Spain enjoyed the full backing of his subordinates in the Supreme Council of the Spanish Inquisition.[26] By the end of 1568 and at the start of 1569, the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions were therefore effectively locked in a stalemate, with neither side willing to give any ground to the other.

The deadlock in negotiations over extraditions was broken in the summer of 1569. In August 1569, a familiar of the tribunal of Llerena arrested and imprisoned three fugitive Conversos from Portugal in the locality of Garrovillas. Although the familiar had been alerted by the bishop of Portalegre in Portugal, he did not take his prisoners to Portugal but contented himself with placing them in the jail of the town of Cáceres in the Spanish Extremadura. When it was notified of these events, the tribunal of Llerena ordered the prisoners to be transferred to its own jails, informing the Inquisitor General of Spain and the *Suprema* of the situation in a letter dated 20 August. The inquisitors of Llerena claimed to be willing to forward any relevant witness testimony to Portugal but began to prepare their trials in Spain.[27]

The significance of this event lies in the fact that the Spaniards now held a vital bargaining lever in the form of the three prisoners sought by the Portuguese Inquisition. A request soon arrived from the tribunal of Évora, seeking to have the prisoners handed over into its custody. Some-

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[26] B.N.L., *Reservados*, *códice* nº 869, fol. 18r.

[27] *El Domingo passado, que se contaron 14 del presente Reçebimos vn despacho del comisario que en Caçeres este Santo Office tiene, por el qual nos aviso, que el obispo de Portalegre, que es en Portugal havia enviado un Familiar de la Inquisición con una Requisitoria suya, en busca del Dr Garçia Lopez un medico, y Ana Gomez viuda, su hermana, y Manuel Rodríguez, que iban huyendo de aquel Reino, para que donde quiera que los hallase, los prendiese, y llevase a su carcel. El familiar llego con estos Recados a las Garrovillas, lugar deste districto, donde con la Requisitoria requirió a vno de los que alli ay, prendiesse a los susodichos, y se los entreguase, el qual lo hiço, assi, y pressos los llavo a la carcel de Caçeres, sin quererlos entregar para Portugal, y dio en este Santo Officio aviso açerca de lo que en esto passaba. E por ser negoçio de heregia, como constava por la Requisitoria del obispo, cuyo traslado enviamos a V.S. y por ser presos en lugar de nuestro districto, pareçio, que se troxen aquí asta dar a V.S. cuenta dello, y escrevimos al obispo diciéndole el estado, en que este negoçio estava, y que nos enviasse la información que contra ellos tenia, pues en este Santo Officio serian castigados conforme a ella, y que si de sus causas, y confessiones Resultasse alguna cosa tocante a su obispado, y a aquel Reyno, se le enviaria. Desto no hemos tenido respuesta y damos cuante a V.S. para que entienda lo que en esto ay, por si el obispo acudiere a haçer alguna diligencia. Suplicamos a V.S. nos mande lo que fuere servido que se deba haçer.* A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17. The words in italics here are underlined in the original document.

what predictably, and perhaps not without a hint of irony, it was promptly refused by the inquisitors of Llerena:

> As regards the prisoners who fled and who are held in the jails of this Holy Office [of Llerena], we would be delighted to be able to hand them over to Your Lordships. Unfortunately, as Your Lordships know well, there has until now been no treaty or agreement concerning [routine] extraditions between the Inquisitions and the trials [of these prisoners] will proceed with great care [in Spain].[28]

The Inquisitors of Llerena were implicitly referring to the clauses of the treaty of 1544—just as those of Valladolid had done in 1558—to argue that no extradition could take place. As none of the three prisoners arrested in August 1569 were known to have escaped from an inquisitorial jail or to be heresiarchs, they did not constitute "special cases." To ensure that the *Suprema* would support them, the inquisitors of Llerena wrote a second letter on 24 September in which they further explained their position. They informed the *Suprema* that they had advised the inquisitors of Évora to contact Cardinal Henrique and their superiors in the General Council of the Portuguese Inquisition. In the event that Cardinal Henrique was prepared to order the inquisitors of Évora to hand over the prisoners in their jail who were sought by the tribunal of Llerena, they would themselves be prepared to reciprocate:

> The reply to the letter [of the Portuguese] was that if they do not want to hand over those [fugitives] who have fled [to Portugal], then the prisoners that are held here will not be extradited or handed over to them. [The Portuguese were advised that] they should write directly to the Cardinal *Infante* to ask him to order that the prisoners be extradited [to Spain] and those prisoners that are here will be sent [to Portugal].[29]

In a second letter, this time dated 19 November 1569, the inquisitors of Llerena added to the pressure building on Cardinal Henrique and the Portuguese Inquisition. The Spanish inquisitors now categorically refused to forward any more transcripts of witnesses' testimony to Portugal,

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[28] "En lo que toca a os Presos de VS, en las carceres deste S.O. que se absentaron de esa cibdad a este reyno quisieramos mucho dar gusto y seruir a VS en remitirlos, mas como VS sabe hasta ahora no se ha tomado asiento ni concordia entre las Inquisiçiones dese reyno y deste en que las personas se remitan, ellos estan aqui presos y se siguiran sus causas con mucho cuydado . . ." A.N.T.T., Inquisição de Évora, livro 51, fol. 41r.

[29] "Decrétose a esta carta lo siguiente: que pues ellos no quieren remitir los que allá están huidos, no se les deuen entregar ni remitir los que acá están presos y que escriban al Cardenal Infante que les mande remitir los dichos presos y se les remitirán los que acá están presos." A.H.N., *libro* 294, fol. 69v. Cited in R. Carrasco, op. cit., p. 510.

effectively depriving the Portuguese inquisitors of vital evidence necessary for the trials of numerous Converso prisoners to proceed. To justify such an action, which would have been in direct violation of the terms of the 1544 treaty, the inquisitors of Llerena claimed that the trials of these Conversos, imprisoned in Évora, had in fact already taken place *in absentia* in Llerena. The prisoners concerned had been condemned to be "relaxed to the secular arm" in an auto-da-fé where effigies of the condemned had been symbolically burnt. As such, the inquisitors of Llerena informed their Portuguese colleagues that it "would thus inconvenience us greatly to have to hand over the transcript of the testimony against them to Your Lordships."[30] Citing the exceptional extradition from Portugal to Spain "only a few years ago" of a heretic convicted *in absentia* by the tribunal of Murcia (in south-eastern Spain), an extradition that was in accordance with the terms agreed in 1544, the inquisitors of Llerena asked the Portuguese to be consistent and do the same with the prisoners held in Évora.[31]

The *Suprema* in Madrid supported the stance adopted by the inquisitors of Llerena. In a letter dated 23 November 1569, the *Suprema* instructed its subordinates to officially offer the Portuguese a straightforward exchange of the prisoners held at Llerena for those in Évora. The *Suprema* insisted that the inquisitors of Llerena must not act unilaterally without first ascertaining the reaction of the Portuguese.[32] On the very same day, perhaps

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[30] "…las quales no hemos enbiado a V.V.M.M. porque los tales presos delinquieron aca y se a procedido contra ellos siendo llamados y citados y dellos fueron rrelaxados estatua en este ultimo Auto, y asi seria notable inconviniente rremitir a V.V.M.M. sus testificaçiones." A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, livro* 51, fols. 57r–57v.

[31] "Esta [escriuimos?] a Supplicar a V.V.M.M. se nos remitan pues ha pocos Años que de una Inquisiçion de ese Reyno se remitio a este a la Inquisiçion de murcia vna persona que siendo pr° relaxada estatuta lo fue despues en persona, mayormente (?) que la concordia no inpidio quando se ofreçiese algun caso particular como paresçe por las copias de cartas que seran con esta para que V.V.M.M. las vea y rremitiendose nos las dichas personas haremos a V.V.M.M. luego la mesma remision del las tres personas que estan en este S.O. presas que vn famliar del por Requisioria del Rmo(?) de portalegre prendio, y asi tendremos el mesmo rrespecto y correspondencia con(?) los demas casos y negoçios semejantes que se ofreçeren y seavisara a V.V.M.M." A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, livro* 51, fols. 57r–57v. I have not been able to identify, in either the Portuguese or Spanish archives, the individual extradited by the Portuguese Inquisition to the Spanish tribunal of Murcia to whom the Spanish inquisitors are referring.

[32] "…enviareis la requisitoria, para que Remitiendoos el dicho obispo los delincuentes, que alla estan huidos le remitais los que ally(?) teneis pressos, que se huyeron de alla, que siempre procurareis S.S. tener buena correpondencia con el dicho obispo pues el os la ofrece por su carta, y entretanto asta ver lo que el dicho obispo haçe, no remitireis los que vosotros teneis pressos." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

anticipating the instructions sent from Madrid, the inquisitors of Llerena sent a letter to Cardinal Henrique, in which they proposed an exchange of prisoners "so that, from now on, the same procedure might be implemented in similar cases."[33]

The strategy of the inquisitors of Llerena and their superiors in Madrid was ultimately successful in forcing the Portuguese to seek a compromise. In a letter dated 5 December 1569, Cardinal Henrique finally consented to an exchange of the prisoners held by the tribunals of Llerena and Évora. Nevertheless, the Portuguese Inquisitor General still stood firm on his refusal to endorse the regular extradition of prisoners or a renegotiation of the treaty of 1544. His own words stand as clear evidence of his fear that this incident might establish a precedent that would result in routine extraditions of Conversos:

> You are well aware that the agreement that was reached between the Inquisitions [of Spain and Portugal in 1544] specified that the testimony [of witnesses], documents and any other evidence necessary [to initiate trial proceedings] against anyone accused [of heresy] should be ratified and sent from one Kingdom to the other and that fugitives should not be exchanged between Kingdoms except [in rare cases when such an extradition is] very important and necessary. This agreement had been adhered to and always honoured. It is our wish that this [agreement] should always be kept because of the very great problems that [would] arise from the extraditions of suspects. Nevertheless, for this one time only, We hold it to be good that what you ask for in your letter should be granted, and that at your request the prisoners held in the jails of the Holy Office [of Évora] and the proceedings [of their trials] should be handed over to you. In the same manner, you should hand over to this Holy Office [of Évora] the three persons [...] that you hold imprisoned.[34]

Even though Cardinal Henrique gave his approval to the prisoner exchange between Llerena and Évora, the actual exchange only took place months later. On 14 May 1570, the inquisitors of Évora informed those of Llerena that they had received formal orders from Cardinal Henrique to hand over the jailed prisoners to the tribunal of Llerena:

> Moved by the holy zeal that he has to favor Our Holy Catholic Faith, and to punish and extirpate heresies, Cardinal [Henrique] has decided that the imprisoned fugitives [from Spain] who are held in the jails of this Holy Office

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[33] "... que para adelante se t[oma?] la mesma consideracion, en los casos semejantes, y negoçios que ocurrieren ..." B.N.L., *Reservados, códice* nº 869, fol. 7r.

[34] A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17; B.N.L., *Reservados*, *códice* nº 869, fols. 70v–71r.

> [of Évora], and whose names are listed in your request, should be extradited. Furthermore, Your Lordships can now send persons to remove them, and in their company shall go officials of this Holy Office [of Évora] to bring back the fugitives García López, Ana Gomez y Manuel Rodríguez, whom you have apprehended in the prisons of the Holy Office [of Llerena].[35]

For a reason that it not clear, it was only in August 1570 that the actual exchange took place. On 22 August, the tribunal of Llerena sent a letter to Évora in order to inform them that one of their lay servants—a *familiar* and doubtless some lesser servants—had arrived from Portugal with the fourteen fugitives sought by the inquisitors of Llerena. The same man was returning to Portugal with the three prisoners sought by the tribunal of Évora.[36] Finally, on 29 August 1570, the inquisitors of Llerena wrote to the *Suprema* to inform their superiors that the prisoners had been extradited and to complain that "the prisoners who have come from Portugal are extremely poor and have not brought anything with them [to contribute towards] their sustenance and thus [these prisoners] will have to be fed and clothed at the expense [of the Inquisition]."[37]

In its efforts to obtain a renegotiation of the treaty of 1544, the *Suprema* sought the aid of the Spanish Crown. In 1569, King Philip II appointed a new ambassador to the Portuguese Court: Juan de Borja, Count of Ficallo,[38]

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[35] "... su A[lteza] mobido del Sancto çelo que tiene para favorecer las cosas de Nuestra santa fe católica, y castigar, y extirpar las herezias, huuo por bien que los pressos fugitivos desos Reinos, que estan en las carçeles deste Santo Officio nombrados en la dicha Requisitoria se remitiesen y Vuestra Señoria pueden enviar personas para que los lleve, y en su compañía iran personas deste Santo Officio para traer a Garçia Lopez, Ana Gomez y Manuel Rodríguez, fugitivos destos Reinos, de la diócesis de Portalegre, que es deste districto, los quales Vuestra Señoria tienen pressos en las carçeles dese Santo Officio." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[36] "Oy martes. A las nueve de la mañana Reçeuimos la carta de V.V.M.M. de 16 del presente con Pedro de Valencia y los demas familiares de este S.O. y con ellos las personas de Beatriz Lopez muger de Patanas, Aluaro Rodriguez Reconçiliado, Maria Lopez muger de Hernan Duran, Joan Rodriguez tundidor, Joan Perez capilla, ysauel nuñez su muger, Alonso Perez çapatero, Domindos Perez su hermano, Guiomar de Aluarado, Joan Corders, Catalina Perez muger decoyto, Catalina Rodriguez garçona y maria Hernandez muger de marton alonso Belparano. Por que Maria Rodriguez latoçina quedo enferma en Vadajoz y tanbien reçeuimos los proçessos que en ese Sancto Offiçio se auian fulminado(?) contra cada uno de ellos..." A.N.T.T., Inquisição de Évora, livro 51, fols. 27r–28r.

[37] "Los pressos, que de Portugal vinieron son muy pobres, y no troxeron cosa alguna, y assi han de comer por pobres a costa del fisco." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[38] Juan de Borja's time as ambassador at the Portuguese Court has still not been studied in any detail. For some information see María Augusta Lima Cruz, *D. Sebastião*, Rio de Mouro, 2006, pp. 169–171, 179, 184, 188–202, 211, 220, 226–228. Juan de Borja later became the Spanish ambassador to the Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II and the Habsburg court in Vienna. Philip II made him president of the Council of Portugal and even granted him the

the second son of the Jesuit General St. Francis de Borja (1510–1572). Juan de Borja represented a perfect choice for such a delicate diplomatic posting, as the new Spanish ambassador to Portugal maintained close family ties with Portugal, particularly through his Portuguese mother, Leonor de Castro.[39]

On his way to Portugal in December 1569, Juan de Borja stopped in the Castilian Extremadura and discussed the issue of extradition with the inquisitors of Llerena. In a letter to the inquisitors of Évora, dated 1 January 1570, one of the inquisitors of Llerena reveals the role played by the Spanish ambassador:

> Don Juan de Borja, brother of the Duke of Gandia [Carlos de Borja],[40] who is a prominent gentleman, passed through here on the day of the Innocents [28 December 1569] whilst on his way to the court of the King of Portugal as ambassador for King Philip. I spoke to him in earnest about the issue of extradition. He informed me that this business is one of the main [briefs] that he has been entrusted to his care and he assured me that he would complete this business with all possible haste. [...] May God allow this business to proceed in the manner that most benefits His service. Amen.[41]

The pace of negotiations, however, proceeded slowly and on 11 February 1570 the Inquisitors of Llerena sent a letter to their Portuguese colleagues in Évora to inform them that discussions were still ongoing and that no resolutions had been reached.[42] The meaning of this letter could not be clearer. As Cardinal Henrique had already sanctioned the exchange of prisoners between Llerena and Évora, on 5 December 1569, the inquisitors of Llerena were referring to the discussions surrounding a more general

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title of Count of Mayalde and Ficalho. Juan de Borja was a relatively well educated and cultivated man, who was later to write a treatise entitled *Empresas Morales* (Prague, 1581).

[39] Cándido de Dalmases, *Francis Borgia. Grandee of Spain, Jesuit, Saint*, translated by C.M. Buckley, St. Louis, 1991, pp. 10–12. Leonor de Castro was the daughter of Alvaro de Castro and Isabel de Meneses.

[40] St. Francis de Borja had renounced his right to the Duchy of Gandia in favor of his firstborn son.

[41] "El dia de los inoçentes passo por aqui don Joan de Borja hermano del duque de gandia el qual es muy principal cauallero y ba a la corte del Rey de Portugal por embaxador de parte del Rey don Philipe. Tracte con el el articulo de la Remision muy deveras y dixome que este negoçio es vn de los prinçipales que lleba que tractar, y offreciome hazer el offiçio con la instançia posible, (...) pleque a dios encaminar este negoçio como mas convenga a su santo seruicio. Amen.", A.N.T.T., Inquisição de Évora, livro 51, fols. 47r–47v.

[42] "Quanto a la remision de los presos fugitivos que estan en las carceles de ese S.O. hemos dado quenta dal estado en que esta este negoçio al Illmo señor Cardenal inquisidor general y señores del consejo de la general inquisiçion, y con breuedad esperamos su respuesta venida que(?) sea abisaremos a V.V.M.M. de lo que suçediere.", A.N.T.T., Inquisição de Évora, livro 51, fols. 53r–53v.

treaty overseeing extraditions of prisoners between the two realms. The inquisitors of Llerena actually gave their personal opinion on the matter of the effectiveness of extraditions:

> Regarding this subject, we have more to add. Besides the persons imprisoned by the Holy Office of the town of Évora, it is quite evident from the books and records of this Holy Office that other individuals have committed crimes of heresy and have escaped [from Spain] to [Portugal]. These are very important individuals whose testimony is necessary to establish the truth in order that their accomplices may be punished. Our Lord would thus receive great service and to act in a different manner would provide great aid and assistance to the heretics.[43]

It was to be the personal intervention of Don Juan de Borja that eventually persuaded Cardinal Henrique to concede to the Spanish demands for a renegotiation of the treaty of 1544. On 11 March 1570, Borja wrote to the inquisitors of Llerena, telling them that Cardinal Henrique had written directly to the Inquisitor General of Spain—the Cardinal of Siguenza—to inform him of his change of position relating to extraditions: "Insofar as the treaty (*concordia*) between this realm [of Spain] and that [of Portugal] is concerned, so that those who act against our Holy Faith should not find any refuge, the Cardinal [*Infante*] wishes, and desires, that a suitable compromise should be reached."[44]

No further details have yet come to light concerning the negotiations that occurred in 1570. What is beyond doubt, however, is that these negotiations resulted in the drafting of an entirely new treaty. The exact date upon which both parties agreed upon the final version of the treaty is

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[43] "Lo que mas tenemos en este articulo que dezir es que demas de las personas que se han ausentado destos rreinos a esos y estan presas en el sancto oficio de la ynquisicion de la ciudad de Ebora—consta por los libros y registros de este Santo oficio que otras personas de estos rreinos han cometido delitos de heregia y se an ausentado de estos rreinos y pasado se a esos las quales son personas muy ymportantes y neçesarias para averiguación de la verdad y para que otros compliçes suyos sean castigados y dello sera nuestro señor muy serbido y lo contrario seria gran favor y amparo para los hereges . . ." B.N.L., Reservados, códice nº 869, fol. 8r.

[44] ". . . Creo que ha de ser muy bueno el efecto, porque los presos se Remiten, y en lo que toca a la concordia de entre este Reino, y esse, para que los delincuentes contra nuestra santa fe católica no tengan refugio alguno, el Sr Cadenal lo quiere, y desea, que se dé un buen medio para ello, y assi ha escrito al Sr. Cardenal de Siguença, y le envia las condiçiones dellas espero en Dios que se ha de ordenar todo muy bien para mucho serviçio suyo, y estoy muy contento de que pueda ser do ministro para ello . . .", A.H.N., Sección Inquisición, Legajo 1995, doc. 17. See also A.N.T.T., Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro 386, fol. 75r and B.N.L., Reservados, códice nº 869, fols. 71r–71v.

not known—certainly the extant documents in Portugal and Spain do not offer a date—but it contained the following four clauses:

1. If a Portuguese man or woman moved to Spain and the Portuguese inquisitors contacted their Spanish counterparts with a request that the individual concerned be arrested and handed over to them, then the Spanish inquisitors would comply, with the shortest possible delay and with the necessary diligence. The Portuguese Inquisition would be responsible for all the costs incurred by the Spanish tribunals in the apprehension, imprisonment and extradition of the suspect. The Portuguese Inquisition would likewise arrest and extradite individuals wanted by the Spanish Inquisition under the same conditions.
2. If an individual was arrested by the Inquisition of one kingdom for crimes of heresy committed in both kingdoms, then the inquisitors of the tribunal that had not arrested the individual would be bound to forward any evidence and witness testimony to their colleagues so that the trial could take place where the prisoner had been arrested. In such circumstances, therefore, no extradition would take place.
3. If a Portuguese man or woman was arrested in Spain because of testimony concerning heretical offences committed solely in Portugal, any testimony held by the Portuguese Inquisition would be forwarded to Spain and the suspect would not be extradited to Portugal. In such circumstances, an extradition would only take place if the Portuguese suspect was accused of offences that were deemed to be particularly scandalous or serious in Portugal. Such exceptional extraditions could only ever take place at the discretion of the Inquisitor Generals and the Supreme Councils of both countries and following due examination of all the evidence against the suspect. The Portuguese Inquisition would act in a similar manner under exactly the same conditions.
4. The Inquisitions of both realms pledged themselves to continue to diligently exchange any evidence or witness testimony in their possession that related to the inhabitants of the neighbouring realm.[45]

[45] A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, libro* 294, fol. 73r; Different Portuguese copies of the 1570 treaty are available in B.N.L., *Reservados, códice* nº 869, fols. 25r–26v, 33r–33v and 72r–72v; A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 481, fol. 114r.

Extraditions after 1570

The treaty of 1570 finally paved the way for the routine extradition of prisoners, and documentary evidence preserved in Spanish and Portuguese archives confirms that such extraditions took place. A seventeenth-century memorandum preserved in the archives of the General Council of the Portuguese Inquisition provides a list of individuals who were extradited between Spain and Portugal during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[46] The authenticity of this list is confirmed by the fact that the original trial dossiers of many of these individuals—or at least those who were extradited from Spain to Portugal—survive in the Portuguese National archives. The list provides us with the following names:

1. In August 1583, Leonor Thomas was handed by the tribunal of Santiago, in Galicia to that of Coimbra.[47]
2. On 7 July 1586, André Velho was handed by the tribunal of Toledo to that of Lisbon.[48]
3. In 1586, Pedro Afonso, who was a native of Campo Maior (Portugal), was handed by the tribunal of Seville to that of Évora.[49]
4. In 1604, Custodio Nunes was handed by the tribunal of Seville to that of Évora.[50]
5. In 1605, Gabriel Nunes was handed by the tribunal of Coimbra to that of Toledo.
6. In 1607, the Inquisitors of Lisbon wrote to their colleagues in Toledo to arrest a certain Gaston Abrunhosa, a Portuguese resident in Madrid, but the prisoner was not extradited even though members of his family were put on trial by the tribunal of Évora in Portugal in 1605.[51]
7. In 1624, the tribunal at Lisbon extradited Diogo Matos to the tribunal of Seville. The same year the Inquisition of Seville handed Francisca Góis and Francisco Roiz over to the Inquisition of Évora.[52]

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[46] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 200, fols. 40r–41v.
[47] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Coimbra, processo* nº 2527.
[48] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo* nº 1053.
[49] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 5227.
[50] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335.
[51] Most notably his daughters Violante and Valéria de Abrunhosa (A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processos* nos. 7802 and 4684). Fortunately for them, they benefitted from the *Perdão Geral* of 1605 and were released. See also *Inquisição de Lisboa, processo* nº 16992.
[52] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 9710.

8. In 1626, the Inquisition of Llerena handed Francisca da Gama to the Inquisition of Évora.
9. In 1629, the Inquisition at Seville handed João Rebelo to the Inquisition of Évora.[53]
10. In April 1630, the Inquisition of Llerena extradited the following prisoners to the Inquisition of Évora: Francisco Fernandes, Luis Fernandes, Manuel Lopes, Garcia Vaz, Brites Mendes, Violante Gomes and Ana Gomes.[54]
11. In May 1630, the Inquisitors of Llerena arrested António Marques and Simão Vaz and handed them over to the tribunal of Évora.[55]
12. In 1631, the Supreme council of the Spanish Inquisition ordered that a certain Diogo Rebello, a New Christian residing in Madrid but originally a native of Lamego in Portugal, be extradited to the Inquisition of Lisbon.
13. In August of 1633, the inquisitors of Toledo handed Thomas Roiz Ballão over to the inquisitors of Lisbon.
14. In September of 1633, the inquisitors of Llerena handed over to the inquisitors of Évora the following fugitives: Maria de Meza, Bento Fernandes, Ines Henriques, Diogo Fernandes, Melchior Fernandes, Pedro Gonçalves, Francisco Henriques, Leonor Gonçalves "and many others" (*e outros muitos*).[56]
15. In January of 1634, the Inquisition of Seville delivered Jorge Roiz, Diogo Ramalho, Francisco Felipe and Isabel Soares into the custody of the Inquisition of Évora.[57]
16. In August of 1634, the Inquisition of Llerena sent Paula Nunes, Silvia Lopes and Catarina Alvares to face trial by the Lisboan tribunal.[58]

The fact that extraditions took place does not mean, however, that tensions between the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions ceased after 1570. Even though Spain and Portugal were ruled by the same monarchs between 1580 and 1640, the Inquisitions in each kingdom remained entirely separate

[53] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processos* nos. 9611 and 9611A.
[54] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processos* nos. 3810, 5478, 5958, 7097 and 7779.
[55] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processos* nos. 9041, 9988 and 10342.
[56] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processos* nos. 9598.
[57] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processos* nos. 1661.
[58] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, processos* nos. 2066, 4833 and 11896. This list is by no means comprehensive, as another list of extraditions between 1583 and 1640, drawn up in 1669 by the Inquisitorial tribunal of Galicia in Spain, reveals other cases not listed in the above memorandum.A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

institutions. The extradition of prisoners created occasional disputes over jurisdiction. In 1624, for instance, a bitter conflict opposed the tribunals of Coimbra in Portugal and Llerena in Spain, when an official of the Spanish tribunal arrested a suspect inside the boundaries of the Portuguese tribunal's province. The Inquisitor Generals of both Inquisitions were eventually forced to intervene in order to settle the dispute.[59] On the whole, however, such sporadic disputes did not prevent the relatively frequent extradition of prisoners. On 19 May 1624, King Philip IV of Spain—who also ruled over Portugal as King Philip III—informed the Inquisitor General of Portugal of his support for the extradition of New Christians fugitives who had fled from the Inquisition in Portugal in order to seek refuge in Spain, and more particularly in Madrid.[60]

The main difficulties encountered by the Supreme Councils of the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions during the seventeenth centuries appear—according to the surviving documentary evidence—to have revolved around maintaining their authority over the extradition process, as well as the exchanges of information between local tribunals. The fixed procedural guidelines, known in Portuguese as *regimentos*, which were drawn up by the Portuguese Inquisitor Generals in 1613 and 1640, do not make any references to extraditions but instruct Portuguese tribunals to maintain a "good correspondence" (*boa correspondencia*) with the tribunals of the neighbouring Spanish Inquisition. It is particularly interesting that, in the *regimento* of 1640, the Portuguese Inquisitor General expressly prohibited Portuguese inquisitors from dispatching any information or any documents to Spain without having first obtained his authorisation.[61]

In Spain itself, the struggle between the Inquisitor General and local tribunals is even more starkly illustrated in the surviving documentary evidence. The Inquisitor General was forced to intervene from Madrid in his attempts to prevent local tribunals from acting upon their own initiative and extraditing prisoners without seeking the permission of the Supreme Council. In the 1630s, for instance, the Inquisitor General of Spain was particularly troubled by the actions of the tribunal of Llerena. In a letter dated 24 May 1630, the *Suprema* chastised the Llerena inquisitors for hav-

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[59] A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[60] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição, Conselho Geral, livro* 200, fols. 43v and 45r–46v.

[61] J. Eduardo Franco and Paulo da Assunção, *As metamorfoses de um polvo. Religião e Política nos Regimentos da Inquisição Portuguesa*, Lisbon, 2004, p. 181. (*Regimento de* 1613, Tit. 5, Cap. 19) and p. 284 (*Regimento de* 1640, Tit. 3, Cap. 31). The *regimento* of 1640 was drawn up before the Portuguese revolt against Spanish rule.

ing extradited a number of prisoners to Portugal without having sought its prior sanction. The members of the *Suprema* expressed their astonishment "that there is no old [and experienced] inquisitor [in Llerena] who could inform you about the proper procedure."[62] This incident did not prevent the tribunal of Llerena from persevering in its disobedience a decade later. In February 1639, the Llerena inquisitors handed over three prisoners to the Portuguese tribunal of Évora without having referred the case to the *Suprema*, which responded in December 1639 by ordering an indefinite suspension of all further extraditions by Llerena. The *Suprema* also ordered the errant inquisitors to write to their Portuguese counterparts to inform them—and presumably also remind them—that, in accordance with the terms of the treaty of 1570, extraditions between Spain and Portuguese could only be negotiated between the Inquisitor Generals of both realms and not between local Inquisitorial tribunals.[63]

The Portuguese Declaration of Independence in December 1640 and the outbreak of open warfare between 1640 and 1668 effectively brought the extradition of prisoners to a halt. When peace was finally restored between both Iberian kingdoms in February 1668, cooperation rapidly resumed between the two Inquisitions. The decades of warfare had severely affected communications between the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions, however; especially as many of the inquisitors serving in 1668 had been appointed since 1640 and thus had no personal knowledge or experience of the state of affairs prior to that date. Ignorance of the extradition treaty of 1570, and of the way in which extraditions had been organised prior to 1640, was not just confined to provincial tribunals. In Madrid, the *Suprema* ordered a number of different Spanish tribunals to conduct searches of their archives and forward to it copies of any documents that might cast light upon the conditions in which extraditions had previously taken place. In their reply, dated April 1669, the Inquisitors of

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[62] "En el Consejo se a visto vuestra carta de 24 de abril en raçon de los portugueses que ayais remitido los dichos presos que os pidio la Inquisición de ebora y [?] que se los remitistes con 700 reales para el camino y a causado admiración que ayais remitido los dichos presos [y?] dineros y que no ouvere nesa Inquisición ministro antiguo que os diese notiçia de le que se deuia haçer y asi estareis V.S. advertida de que en ninguna manera le han de dar presos ni dineros de aquí adiante a ninguna inquisición de Portugal y quando sucediere caso en que pidan algun preso dareis quenta al consejo dello que se ordenara lo que deviais hacer y auisareis quanto [montan?] los secrestos de los bienes de destos presos y pondréis buen recado en ellos hasta ver en que [?]eparan sus causas en las quales hareis justiçia con el cuidado que en el Santo Officio se acostumbra." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, libro* 635, fols. 248r–248v.

[63] A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, libro* 636 and *libro* 498, fol. 55v.

Santiago de Compostela in Galicia stated that they did not believe that "a definite resolution has been taken in this business in spite of the fact that negotiations have taken place at various times and in various ways."[64] For their part, the inquisitors of Llerena sent an extraordinary letter to the *Suprema* in which they declared that it appeared to them that all past extraditions had not been the consequence of any extradition treaty but instead of negotiations conducted between provincial tribunals in Spain and Portugal. These tribunals had effectively employed prisoners as bargaining chips to secure the extradition of prisoners that were imprisoned in the neighbouring realm.[65] Notwithstanding such claims, the *Suprema* wrote to the provincial tribunals on 7 May 1669, instructing them to refer all extradition cases to it and to extradite prisoners only after such extraditions had been discussed and sanctioned by the Inquisitor Generals of both realms.[66] As such, the *Suprema* was advocating a return to the terms of the 1570 treaty.

A Case Study: The Extradition of Custodio Nunes in 1604

A detailed discussion of the trials of many prisoners who were extradited lies beyond the scope of this work but the extradition of Custodio Nunes, a Converso resident of Évora, from Spain to Portugal in 1604 provides us with an example of the apparent smoothness with which the extradition of wanted fugitives could be handled by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions. Custodio Nunes was listed in the anonymous memorandum referred to above, and the original trial dossier has fortuitously survived in the National Archives of Portugal.[67]

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[64] "…no pareze que en tiempo alguno se a tomado resolución fija en esta materia avnque se a tratado, y conferido en diversos tiempos, y por diferentes medios…," A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[65] "Y aunque por los años 1543, y otros hasta el de 1580 huuo algunas remisiones de presos de vn Reyno a otro no pareze que fue en fuerza de concordia, ni asiento General que se huviese tomado, sino determinaciones particulares, como vsando de Represalias cada Reyno los Reos que aprehendia para que se trocasen por otros, y lo mesmo parese hauerse practicado después de la incorporación de Portugal en la Corona de Castilla." A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 1995, doc. 17.

[66] A.H.N., *Sección Inquisición, Legajo* 510, exp. 2, fols. 78r–78v. See Pilar Huerga Criado, op. cit., pp. 228–229. The *Suprema* was effectively ordering the inquisitors to implement the decree promulgated in December 1639 after Llerena's unauthorised extraditions to Portugal.

[67] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335.

Custodio Nunes was a member of a mixed New and Old Christian family residing in the Portuguese town of Évora. When he was questioned by the inquisitors, Custodio claimed that his father, who was deceased, was of Old Christian stock but that his mother's forbearers were the descendants of Jews.[68] His family had already attracted the attention of the Inquisition and his mother had already been arrested and condemned of crypto-Judaism by the tribunal of Évora in 1597.[69] Gathering evidence and testimony from a number of witnesses and trials, the inquisitors rapidly built a case against accused. On Saturday 7 February 1604, the Inquisition sent a familiar, Pero Lourenço, to arrest him and bring him to the Inquisition's cells. The familiar proceeded to detain Custodio Nunes in the house of his mother Catarina Alvarez, who lived in the *Rua Ancha* of Évora. Whilst he went elsewhere to arrest other suspects, Pero Lourenço left the prisoner in the charge of Domingos Pires, a public notary who resided in the same street. Taking advantage of the situation, Nunes made a dash for freedom. All attempts to track him down in the district of Évora failed and, on 13 February 1604, the tribunal drew up a proclamation which was to be read aloud in the churches of Évora to the faithful who had gathered:

> [We] the apostolic inquisitors against depraved heresy and apostasy in this town of Évora, inform you that, on Saturday 7 February 1604, the New Christian Custodio Nunes, the son of João Nunes, [a resident] of this town, having been arrested by the Holy Office and in the custody of the public notary Domingos Pires (…) escaped and fled to whereabouts which remain unknown [to the Inquisition].[70]

A period of grace of three days was granted to anyone possessing information relating to the escape of Custodio Nunes and having knowledge of his whereabouts. Failure to make such information known to the Holy Office would lead to harsh penalties, including excommunication.

The public proclamation issued by the tribunal of Évora was to prove surprisingly successful. On Monday 10 May 1604, a native of Évora, Gabriel Hernández, who had recently moved to Seville, approached that city's inquisitors with news of the escapee:

> He stated that he has come to tell how this morning when he was walking through a street of this city, whose name he cannot recall, he saw a young

[68] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335, fols. 57r–60r.
[69] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 10514.
[70] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335, fols. 28r–28v.

> man called Custodio. [The young man] appears to be aged 20, is clean-shaven, thin, dressed in blue and is a native of Évora. His father is Juan Nuñez and his mother was named Catalina Alvarez and was condemned to wear a *sambenito* during an auto de fe celebrated by the Inquisition of Évora. Three months ago, more or less, this witness was staying in Évora and heard some edicts of the Holy Office read out in which the Inquisition ordered that anyone with any information concerning the aforesaid fugitive Custodio should come forth and communicate it to the Inquisition under pain of Excommunication.[71]

The Sevillian inquisitors lost no time in ordering the arrest of Custodio Nunes, who was now working as a silk merchant in the Calle de las Armas. An arrest warrant was issued that same day and the chief bailiff of the tribunal in Seville was dispatched to arrest the fugitive. A document preserved in the trial dossier informs us that the hapless Nunes was imprisoned that very evening in the cells of the Castle of Triana.[72] With Nunes in their custody, the inquisitors of Seville now contacted their Portuguese colleagues in Évora to inform them of his arrest. The tribunal of Évora promptly despatched Pero Lourenço to convey the prisoner back to Portugal. Lourenço was provided with a safe-conduct, signed by the inquisitors of Évora and dated 5 June 1604, to prevent anyone from interfering in his mission:

> The apostolic inquisitors against heretical depravity and apostasy in this town of Évora and its district inform all the ecclesiastical and secular justices as well as any other persons of any rank [whom this may concern] that we have instructed Pero Lourenço, a familiar of this Holy Office to travel to Seville in order to bring [back to Évora] certain person or persons from the Inquisition of that town. Under penalty of excommunication, we require that no person from this district [of Évora] or of the kingdom of Castile should impede or molest the aforesaid Pero Lourenço but rather render unto him all possible favor and assistance so that he may safely convey the aforesaid prisoners [to Évora].[73]

Upon the arrival of Pero Lourenço in Seville, the signatures on his safe-conduct were scrupulously checked to ensure their authenticity. On 14 June, the inquisitors of Seville issued the Portuguese official with a similar safe-conduct and allowed him to leave Seville with the prisoner under his guard.[74] Pero Lourenço arrived in Évora on 22 June and duly handed

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[71] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335, fol. 9r.
[72] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335, fols. 10r–10v.
[73] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335, fols. 4r–5r.
[74] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335, fol. 22r.

his charge over to the prison warden of the inquisitorial jail. The formalities of the extradition were completed when, on 14 July, the inquisitors of Seville wrote to those of Évora to confirm that they had received the sum of 40 *reales* and 28 *reis* to compensate them for the expense of feeding the prisoner while he was in their care.[75] The remainder of the trial of Nunes does not fall within the scope of this article, but the inquisitors of Évora were to be ultimately frustrated in their endeavor to convict him by the publication of the General Amnesty granted by Pope Clement VIII (1592–1605) to the New Christians of Portugal in 1604.[76]

Conclusion

The sixteenth century witnessed the elaboration by the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions of carefully outlined procedures for the extradition of prisoners between Spain and Portugal. The process by which both Inquisitions eventually reached a settlement was protracted and tortuous, due to the differing priorities of both sides. A first agreement thrashed out in 1544 adopted the standpoint of the Portuguese Inquisitor General Cardinal Henrique, who wished to prevent any extraditions except in the most exceptional of cases. This limited treaty did not resolve the tensions between Spanish and Portuguese inquisitorial tribunals, however. The dispute that arose between the tribunals of Évora and Llerena in the 1560s compelled the Inquisitor Generals of both realms to renegotiate the treaty. The clauses of the new extradition treaty, of 1570, set out with great precision the circumstances in which prisoners held by the Inquisition in one kingdom could be handed over to the Inquisition in the neighbouring realm. The case of the extradition of Custodio Nunes from Seville to Évora in 1604 illustrates perfectly the routine implementation of the extradition agreement of 1570.

The historical significance of the treaties of 1544 and 1570 lies beyond their obvious importance for our understanding of the institutional history of the Inquisition within the Iberian Peninsula. These treaties represent one of the earliest—perhaps even *the* earliest—documented instance in which two police forces cooperated closely and actively to establish a

[75] A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Évora, processo* nº 335, fol. 11r.

[76] A.J. Saraiva, *The Marrano Factory* (Leiden, 2001), translated by H.P. Salomon and I.S.D. Sassoon, pp. 139–140.

formal agreement to exchange prisoners and information. Whilst extraditions continued to present difficulties for the Inquisitor Generals and Supreme Councils of the Inquisitions in Spain and Portugal during the seventeenth century, these related to the struggle of the Supreme Councils to impose their authority over provincial tribunals. As the lists of names contained in the anonymous memorandum discussed above reveals, extraditions carried on at a regular pace right up to the outbreak of the Portuguese rebellion against Spanish Habsburg rule in December 1640 and even resumed after the King of Spain was forced to accept Portuguese independence in 1668.

The extradition of many fugitives could not have taken place, however, without the regular exchange of information between the tribunals of both kingdoms. The Spanish and Portuguese inquisitors lived and operated in an age without access to rapid forms of communication and data storage. Nevertheless, the scale on which they exchanged information concerning wanted fugitives and Conversos who were thought to have moved to the neighbouring realm—usually in the form of lists of wanted individuals with all known information that might be necessary to identify them—is quite remarkable. There is abundant documentary evidence highlighting this exchange of information, not only in the Iberian Peninsula but also across the Atlantic Oceans between the Portuguese Inquisition and the three inquisitorial tribunals established in Mexico, Cartagena de las Indias and Lima (Peru) in Spain's New World Empire[77] This active collaboration ensured Conversos fleeing Inquisitorial persecution could never be certain that they were beyond the reach of the Holy Office in any part of Spain, Portugal and their respective overseas empires. Only emigration to Northern Europe and the Islamic World provided them with the certainty of safety.

[77] See I. Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions. Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*, Durham, 2004, pp. 59–61. Also A.N.T.T., *Inquisição de Lisboa, livro* 18, fols. 9r, 10r, 138r; *livro* 26, fols. 2r–2v and *Inquisição de Évora, livro* 55, fols. 100r–101r; *Inquisição de Coimbra, livro* 70. I have not, as yet, been able to uncover in either Spain or Portugal any documentary evidence of extraditions of prisoners across the Atlantic Ocean.

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